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ACTS OF THE APOSTLES;

OR

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

IN THE

APOSTOLIC AGE.

BY

M. BAUMGARTEN,

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY, AND PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ROSTOCK.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY

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TRANSLATOR'S ADVERTISEMENT.

The indulgence of the reader is requested by the Translator of the first two volumes. Much affliction prevented his giving to his labours a careful and final revision; it has also been the cause of the translation of the third volume being assigned to another.

A. J. W. M.

ERRATUM.

Vol. ii., page 1, line 6, for "bride," read "betrothed."

THIRD BOOK.

(CONTINUED.)

FIRST PART.

(CONTINUED.)

THE CHURCH AMONG THE GENTILES.

§ 24. THE PRESERVATION OF THE CHURCH UNDER ITS HEAVIEST ASSAULT.

(Chap. xv. 1—35).

THE history of the Apostles exhibits the Church to us under two opposite aspects. Under one it introduces her to us in her perfection. At her birth she appears to us as the reconciliation of all earthly contradictions; as a harmonious choir hymning the praise of God with the tongues of all nations and peoples under heaven; she appears as the happy bride resting on the bosom of her beloved; and while the world grows faint-hearted and desponds before the signs of the last days, she, in singleness of heart, looks forward to the time of her union with him. The other aspect under which the Church is also here depicted is equally extensive, though of a wholly different kind. Under it the Church is represented in labour and in warfare; she can call nothing her own; she has yet everything to win; to labour for it and to gain it by a hard struggle. And just as her whole being was filled and pervaded by that sense of bliss, so did this feeling of want and destitution pervade and run through her entire frame. We are

conducted into the very secrecy of her profoundest principles; there to see her tremble and heave with agony and alarm. It is the same conflict as that which the Gospels open to our eyes in the life of our Lord; here, too, on the one hand, there gleams the Heavenly radiance of the majesty of the only begotten Son of God, and on the other lowers the abysmal, deadly darkness of despair and of abandonment by God. But with these two opposite aspects, as well of the life of the Lord as of that of the early Church, it fares not alike in the conception of them. Precisely as in the history of Jesus, His glory is often the very obstacle which prevents our descending in thought to the lowliness of His humiliation; so also in the history of the early Church, its happiness is much sooner understood than its unhappiness, its rich possessions sooner than its total death, its rest much more than its toils, its triumphs far better than its conflicts. We are now standing before a section of our history which right earnestly exhorts us to gain a clear conviction of this fact; for it is about to lead us down to a depth such as never before has yawned upon us. On this account, however, it promises to all those who follow it, a lasting gain, such as can only be obtained in this way.

It was even long ago told us how great a commotion arose in the Church at Jerusalem when Peter had, by baptism, admitted the first Gentile into the communion of Christ. At that time, however, the excitement was silenced by St Peter's account of the whole proceeding, stamped as it was by the unmistakeable seal of Divine guidance and approval; and the murmurers were compelled to acknowledge the work of God himself in the conversion of the Gentiles (see xi. 18). Subsequently, however, this work of the conversion of the Gentiles had gone on by a steady progress, while that of the Jews had come more and more decidedly to a stop. From all this it had gradually become manifest that there was no longer room for thinking of that order of the kingdom of Christ—which had been originally designed by God, and had formed the hopes of those assembled together on the day of Pentecost—according to which Israel was to form the living central point around which the converted Gentiles were gradually to be gathered in, and who, therefore, in proportion as they abandoned their own nationality, corrupted as it was by an

idolatrous worship, were to find their compensation in the union with Israel. Moreover, another fact of like import had been brought distinctly to light. The first conversion of the Gentiles had been effected by the means of an Apostle. No doubt it was the will and operation of the Lord that stood prominently forward as the leading element among all the decisive influences of this event; still it was even the very chiefest of the Apostles that the Lord employed on this occasion as His instrument. But now it is quite another direction that the further conversion of the Gentiles has taken. The first Church of the Gentiles arose in Antioch; but no Apostle was present or took part in founding it. Its very institution cannot record the name of its author. And it is from this community that the mission is sent forth to the Gentiles without any intervention of Apostles—or even of the Church at Jerusalem. The only, and the weak link of connection between the Apostles and the Church at Jerusalem on the one hand, and this gradually widening work of the conversion of the Gentiles on the other, is furnished in the person of Barnabas. Weak indeed is this tie: for in the work of the mission Barnabas himself has been already compelled to give way to Saul. But this personage, Saul of Tarsus, was far better known in Jerusalem by his earlier terrible character than by his subsequent Apostolical one (see ix. 26; cf. Gal. i. 21—23). Thus the development of the Church assumes altogether the appearance of tending to set itself loose and to separate not merely from the Old Testament ordinance of the people of Israel, but even from the New Testament ordinance of the Apostolate. That the Apostles understood how to reconcile this strange turn of things with their Lord's reign in Heaven, and submitted to it willingly and joyfully in humility and silence, cannot, after all the experience we have had of their conduct, be doubted by any one for a single moment. Moreover, from the authentic testimony of Paul himself we know that there were besides very many in the congregation at Jerusalem who, when they heard of St Paul's labours in Asia Minor rejoiced in all singleness of heart and gave praise to God (see Gal. i. 21—24). But have we any cause to feel surprised, if, in all the believers from out of Israel, there was not such *purity of mind* as looking merely to the will and work of the Lord, and taking pleasure in that alone, were ready to give up and to re-

nounce all else? Such there were in the Church at Jerusalem who, although on one occasion, overpowered by the immediate impression of the operation of the Lord, they could but submit to the might of the Lord in the guidance of His Church, were yet ordinarily left uncontrolled to their own thoughts and feelings, and could not patiently brook the total rejection of Israel and of the Apostolate which was built on Israel and had been founded by Jesus during His presence on earth, and who, living on in the thought of the inviolability of these Divine ordinances, would at all times allow anything to gain ground again and to be established rather than the suppression of these Divine ordinances.

It was precisely such persons that came to Antioch from Jerusalem (xvi. 1), and gave rise to great excitement in that hitherto peaceful community, at the very moment when it was rejoicing highly at the results of the first missionary enterprize. They presented themselves with a very definite doctrine, and laboured earnestly to diffuse it among the members of the community. For it was a doctrine that they brought (ἐδίδασκον), and since it was properly for the sake of this doctrine that they came forward, it is evident that they had journeyed from Antioch expressly with the object of disseminating it. The purport of that teaching was briefly this: the Gentile Christians must submit to circumcision in obedience to the law of Moses, otherwise they will forfeit all hope of salvation. Since, in the passage before us, this is all we are told of the subject matter of this teaching, the necessity of circumcision must at any rate have been its principal and leading tenet. In other passages we learn, it is true, that these Judaizing teachers had it in view to insist on the imposition of the whole of the Mosaic law (see 5, 10, 28). In the teaching of these Judaizers, circumcision held precisely the same place as in that of the false teachers, who are combated in the Epistle to the Galatians; for they also, while they made several matters out of the law to be incumbent on Christians (see Gal. iv. 9, 10), nevertheless maintained above all else the necessity of circumcision (ver. 23). By appealing to Moses in proof of the necessity of circumcision, they indicated the point of view from which they regarded that rite. For the significance and importance which the Mosaic law ascribed to it becomes

apparent, chiefly from the ordinance, that although strangers might dwell in the land of Israel, and might reckon on the protection of the law, and on many other advantages, yet they were not to be allowed to take part in the passover, unless they had first submitted to be circumcised (see Exod. xii. 45, 48). As long, therefore, as these strangers remained in uncircumcision they were by the law altogether excluded from participation in the sacred meal in which year by year Israel renewed their covenant of reconciliation and redemption. The positive side of this regulation, on the contrary, opened to strangers on condition of their being circumcised, access to full membership in that most precious blessing of redemption in Israel. Now, in conformity with this regulation of the law, these Judaizers maintained that Gentile Christians might indeed have a certain participation in the blessings of redemption by Jesus the Son of David, but that the true sanctuary of the kingdom of God could not be opened unto them until they had received the seal of circumcision—then, and not till then, would they, together with the people of God, be safe against the judgment (*οὐ δύνασθε σωθῆναι*).

We may justly wonder at the confidence with which these men from Judea sought to establish their doctrine of the necessity of circumcision. It was afterwards affirmed, by letters from Jerusalem, that they had not received any such commandment from the Apostles or from the Church (see ver. 24). On the contrary, we have every reason for assuming that, subsequently to the conversion of Cornelius, had they come forward either in Judea or Jerusalem with any such teaching, they would instantly have been met by the opposition of the Apostles, and of every one who was held in any consideration by the Church. This, however, is so far from deterring them, that, of their own accord, they start for Antioch, and immediately set themselves to work to gain adherents to their doctrine. In Antioch, indeed, the most eminent teachers—those who, by signs and wonders, had been pointed out as the chosen instruments of the Lord—Paul and Barnabas—rose in opposition to this strange dogma. They gainsaid them; and also entered upon an earnest and serious discussion with them (*στάσεως καὶ ζητήσεως οὐκ ολίγης* ver. 2). But it is not said that this had even the slightest influence on these Judaizers. Instead of that we are told, that, as soon as this

matter came to be spoken of in Jerusalem, the supporters of this doctrine immediately re-appear there, and in the most decided manner possible enforce anew their requirement, saying, they must be circumcised and commanded to keep the law of Moses (ver. 5). But even with all this, the strength and the obstinancy of this opinion was very far as yet from fully manifesting itself. It is only in somewhat later times that we become perfectly aware of the fearful influence its assaults had on the purity of the Gospel. For even after a still higher authority than that of the Apostles—the voice of the Holy Ghost himself—had, by the instrumentality of the whole Apostolical Church, passed His condemnation on this erroneous dogma; nay, it was from this very date that, as we learn from the epistles of St Paul, it first of all began really to gain ground among the Churches, and (what implies more than all else) it made the very rock among the Apostles—Peter himself—to shake, and led Barnabas astray, Apostle as he was of the Gentiles, and eye-witness of the wonders which the Lord had wrought in Asia Minor.

So long as we see in this Judaising effort nothing more than a purely local and temporary aberration, it becomes extremely difficult, nay impossible, for us to understand its seductive energy, and so long, too, will it be beyond our power to attain to a right understanding of the proceedings connected with this matter which are here reported to us. Circumcision and law, Moses and Israel, are at present ideas of very remote interest indeed for us; and we are consequently scarcely able to form an adequate notion of the power over the mind which once dwelt in these words, and which the Antiochene community must have been sensible of. We have one advantage, however, which may assist us materially in forming a right judgment of this affair; and that is the experience of all the subsequent history of the Church of Christ. In numberless instances has this experience proved, (and it is still teaching the same lesson every day) that doctrines and tendencies which arise in opposition to the kingdom of Christ, have at most but little power and but feeble effect, so long as they do not go beyond the school and theory, however hostilely they may sound, and however great may be the zeal to propagate them; but that, on the contrary, as soon as an erroneous doctrine once gets hold of, and attaches itself to, what was

originally a Divine ordinance, or to an historical influence, its anti-Christian tendency quickly assumes a permanent power and a continuous operation. What is rationalistic doctrine contrasted with the organised system of the Romish hierarchy? and what is Pantheism contrasted with the Jesuitism of politics? When, by this standard, we measure the controversy before us, we shall be soon convinced that at no time had the Church so fierce a fight from within, to undergo, as that we have here to trace.

Had those of the sect of the Pharisees rejected Christ altogether, then the matter would have been decided easily, or rather a decision would never have been called for. The question would have had no weight, either in Jerusalem or in Antioch. But in the very passage where the leading teachers of this error are designated by the title which was of highest repute among the Jews, that viz. of Pharisees, it is said of them that they were believers (ver. 5). They were, therefore, very far from denying Christ. Moreover, they do not seem to have called in question the facts which lay before them, either on the side of the Gentiles, or on that of the Jews. They would have admitted, that the Israel of those days was incapable of receiving the faith of Jesus—nay, was hostilely disposed towards it; that, on the other hand, among the Gentiles there had beeen shewn a great disposition to receive it, and that the conversion of the Gentiles to the faith in Jesus was to be looked on as a good beginning. Only they would have protested against a total exclusion of Israel from salvation, as well as against the supposition that among the Gentiles the Church of Christ could ever attain to its consummation. Have we not already seen that in Jerusalem the Apostles, after all the experience they had had of the enmity of the Jews, never considered them to be excluded from salvation. And do we not find them, after they had, by the malice of Herod, been driven to quit Jerusalem (see xii. 17), nevertheless at last collected together again in Jerusalem? Is not Paul, as we have seen both by word and deed, a zealous champion of the as yet unassailable Divine prerogatives of Israel in this domain of redemption? Does not the Church at Antioch acknowledge the pre-eminent position of the Church of Jerusalem, by sending Paul and Barnabas to consult with it on this matter? And, on the other hand, have we not found that these two Apostles represented to the Gentiles

the kingdom of Christ as a something yet to be accomplished (see xiv. 22)? What, therefore, these believing Pharisees urge is this: the more that, by the course of development, the importance of this people collectively as a nation, and as represented under the New Testament by the college of Apostles, is outwardly pushed into the back-ground, the more paramount becomes the obligation to insist that this pre-eminence of Israel should not be neglected or put aside by the Church of Christ. That original and for ever immutable ordinance of God, which made Israel to be the only channel of health and salvation for the whole world, must therefore be set before the Gentiles, without reserve or qualification. And until that is done, the work of their conversion cannot receive either from Israel or from the Apostles its ratification and completion. If, now, according to the teaching of history, there never has been, and, according to the testimony of prophecy, there never will be, a combination more dangerous for the Church, than one which is formed out of the blending of the grace of Christ, with ordinances, which in themselves are good and wholesome enough, but which, by being made of more importance than the grace itself, become the very opposite, it is quite clear that the Church was now involved in its most difficult conflict. For what fact is there that has a deeper foundation in history—what is there so well supported by a venerable antiquity—what is there so verified by the whole history and prophecy of the Old, and also of the New Testament, as the organisation of the people of Israel, as created expressly for the preparation of the kingdom of God? In the whole edifice of the Church, what has appeared more like its key-stone and foundation, than the Apostolate of the patriarchs of the New Israel, appointed by the ordinance of Christ, and confirmed by the sealing of the Holy Ghost? And, now, let us try and represent to our minds the whole condition of the Church in the world at that time. Outside of Israel the might of heathendom prevailed on all sides; there, everything, the whole frame of society and government, science and art, and all the relations of life, were pervaded and corrupted by the very essence of idolatry; moreover, Rome, that consummation of secular power, had diffused its God-opposing authority and race over the whole world. In the vast universe of heathendom and the empire of the world, there could

not be found a single point on which the Church, which had but just started into being, might hope to find a stay and a support when attacked in its very infancy. Israel alone, with its holy laws and its Divine ordinances, presented a something, which, as it were, met the Church half way, and waited for the Church, in order to attain from it its own completion and perfection; and with this holy work entrusted to it, with these Divine ordinances laid upon it, Israel had of late spread itself through the whole world of the Gentiles and the Roman empire. Now, are not these highways of the Jewish Diaspora, which run along through the whole world, and which all again meet together in Jerusalem, the bright lines of light created of God himself, to pierce through the dark and nightly regions of the Gentiles, in order that, illumined by them, the messengers of salvation might travel about safely? Ought not, then, this sacred institution of Judaism, which of old had been maintained by signs and wonders, and now stood forth as the only asylum within which the Church might attain a firm foundation and edifice in the world, to be cherished with a genuine love and care, instead of being kept at a distance; nay, sternly pushed aside? Had it not altogether the appearance of a tempting of God—of overweening presumption, if St Paul, apparently no doubt accommodating himself to this work of God, should yet have given, as it were in contempt of Israel, such a tone to his preaching, as made it acceptable to the Gentiles far more than to the Jews, and thereupon received the former into the Church, without laying on them, as a duty, the observance of the inviolable law of Moses. By such a procedure, was not Israel (if not capriciously, yet surely most imprudently and very blindly) cast out of his original destination, which was calculated to be so important to the Church—nay, of which the fulfilment was so necessary to her, in order to the gaining for her a welcome in the world? Nay, was he not forcibly driven to take up an opposite tendency and assume a hostile position against the Gospel, such as we have already seen in the history of St Paul, so that now through the fault of an individual, that which was the only furtherance of the Gospel in the world, must be converted into its chiefest hindrance. If, moreover, we take into consideration, the fact that with little pains, and with obvious consistency, all this reasoning might be made to apply to the significance and impor-

tance of the patriarchal Apostolate, then it will be readily admitted, that never was any hierarchical or political ordinance or institution established, at the cost and sacrifice of the grace of Christ—nay, that none will ever be made—which, in importance and influence for the Church, came near to that one which was here appealed to and insisted on, and also that there never was a time in which, for the permanence of the Church, the need of rallying round some such organisation was greater than in these times when the Christian Church was first taking shape and form in the world of the Jews and Gentiles.

Thus, then, like her Divine Head, the Church, at the very beginning of her course, had to undergo her heaviest conflict, in order that, having come forth victoriously from it, she should never again be wanting in courage and hope for any coming struggle. At the sametime it is also instructive and edifying for all following times to learn how the Church of Christ went through and overcame the first and fiercest assault of her foes. And for this reason assuredly is it that, by God's providential management, a credible account of it has been transmitted to us. This account, however, is also the more important, as it exhibits the matter quite differently from what we should of ourselves have expected. In this respect, too, the narrative before us requires to be compared with the Gospel account of the first conflict of our Lord. For there is probably no one to whom it does not appear a mystery, that the Son of God, when He had just received the anointing of the Holy Ghost without measure, does not draw His answer to the tempter, from the Spirit which dwelt within Him; but even in His fulness of the Spirit adheres to the Old Testament Scriptures, in the very closest and the most servile way possible, so that not even once, does He utter any words of His own, until He has overcome the Tempter by means of the written word. This use of Scripture, however, in His threefold temptation, enables us to form a right conception, as well of the deep earnestness of purpose which marked the temptation, as of the truth and reality of the human way in which it was overcome. And just so, without doubt, we should have formed a very different conception of the conduct of the Apostolical Church in this business, from that which we find reported of it. For who would not look upon it as a goodly Apostolical procedure

on St Peter's part, if appealing to the revelation which had been given previously to him, and to the instruction which had been confirmed and accredited by subsequent facts, he had stood up before the Pharisees, and required that they should be obedient to the word of God communicated to him; and if they had refused to pay regard to this appeal, had put them out of the pale of spiritual communion as resisting the word of God and the sacred Apostolical office, and as obstinate disturbers of the peace of the Church? It also seems an obvious course for St Paul and Barnabas to take, if, relying on the whole series of events by which the Lord had borne witness to the correctness of their own convictions and mode of acting among the Gentiles, they had with similar plenitude of power put the ban upon these Judaising propagandists, and prevented the question becoming the subject of wider discussion. Or if individual Apostles had been unwilling to take such a matter upon themselves alone, why did not the whole college of the Apostles do so—as the body which, without doubt, was best qualified, and, indeed, most immediately called upon to pass a competent judgment on this matter, and also to put it in force? Now, since it is evident that none of all these several ways was employed, this circumstance may assuredly have been intended to be a sign to us, that commonly we do not form a right notion either with regard to the gravity of this question, or of the ways and means by which the Church was to meet such conflicts.

The initiative for the discussion and solution of the question thus started evidently proceeded from Antioch, and indeed from the Church there. It was within that community that the Pharisees first promulgated their doctrine in perfect distinctness and confidence, and thereupon the Christians had witnessed the opposition and the conduct generally which St Paul and Barnabas had shown towards them (vv. 1, 2). There does not exist the least reason for assuming that the Church of Antioch was perplexed with any doubt or uncertainty by the confident bearing of these teachers of error. For we have seen that from its first foundation this Church, as Gentile Christians, had maintained a very clear and firm notion of their true position. But as little did they feel it to be possible to allow this matter to rest as it was; they were conscious of its gravity as affecting not only their own posi-

tion but the position also of all the Gentile communities of which they ought to regard themselves as the metropolis. But this congregation must have felt it especially incumbent on it to have the relation determined in which these false teachers stood to the Apostles of Christ and to the Church in Jerusalem. For even though the Christians of Antioch, considering the origin of their community, did not look upon themselves as dependent in any way on the Apostles or on the Church of the first fruits, but on the contrary, knew that they were partakers of the same grace of God, and possessed the same immediate relation to the Lord as they did (see xi. 28) ; still on account of this very communion of grace, and for the Lord's sake, they felt a desire to become really conscious of this fellowship and to acknowledge that same position and dignity of the Apostles and of the Church in Jerusalem as had been assigned to them by the grace of God and by the Lord. This need was, as we have seen, the source of those gifts of charity which the Christians of Antioch had sent a little while before to Jerusalem, as signs of their gratitude and brotherly love (v. 2). We cannot see in this mission anything beyond this perfectly natural relation of the Antiochene Christians to Jerusalem. And if therefore Zeller has discerned in it the recognition of a supreme Church authority in Jerusalem, and then (what was an easy task) has sought to prove from it that Paul could not have taken part in it (see Theol. Jahrb. 1843, 436), he has allowed himself to be deceived by a semblance, of which the truth will presently be shown to us. But that we do rightly when in ἔταξαν we take the whole community to be the subject, is proved not only by its indefiniteness, but also by two considerations. On the one hand, besides Paul and Barnabas, a few others are also sent from the very midst of the community; and on the other, it is expressly asserted (ver. 3), that those who set out for Jerusalem had been sent forth by the Church. We see, therefore, the Church at Antioch again in the same consciousness and vitality as it came before us in the beginning. As the first Gentile Church (which looked on itself at once as the mother and natural representative of all other Gentile Christian Churches), conscious of the gravity of the question before it, it sends a mission to Jerusalem in order to learn how in this opposite pole of the Christian world they

bore themselves with regard to this sect of the Pharisees which had come to them from Jerusalem.

The fact that it is only in Phoenicia and Samaria that those who had been thus sent speak of the work of God among the Gentiles (ver. 3), while on the other hand nothing is said of such an intercourse with the Churches in Galilee (cf. ix. 31), has its source without doubt in this circumstance, that whereas in the former places the Gentile Christian element prevailed, and in the latter the Jewish, these ambassadors, as representatives of the Gentile Christians, tarried by preference in those places where they were sure of meeting with the most joyful welcome. When, however, the embassy arrived at Jerusalem, it was received precisely in the same manner as it had been sent forth. What I mean is, the mission was received by the Church and by the Apostles and by the elders (ver. 4). The Church therefore understood the mission as having been sent from the Church of Antioch to the Church at Jerusalem pre-eminently. Even this first meeting of the messengers from Antioch with those in Jerusalem is in itself a remarkable event. The two central Churches of the Christian world come here together; furthermore, the Apostles called by the Lord during His earthly incarnation, and the Apostles called by the Lord from out of Heaven and confirmed by signs and wonders of the Holy Ghost, stand face to face (see xiv. 14). On the first occasion that Paul and Barnabas visited Jerusalem they had brought with them the first fruits of the brotherly love of the Gentiles; now the messengers from Antioch narrate the doings of the Lord in the lands of the Gentiles, and therewith they open their conference with the Church at Jerusalem (ver. 4). As, then, in the series of these communications they came to speak of the bold and confident appearance of these teachers of error, an opportunity was naturally presented for the discussion of these matters.

For the sake, then, of this discussion a special meeting of the Church was held; and evidently this synod is the proper centre of the whole of the present narrative. Now the Apostles and elders are mentioned first and foremost (ver 6) as members in this assembly. But that we ought to think of this assembly as an universal one is implied as self-evident, "for" as Meyer says, "the deliberation of the Apostles and Presby-

ters took place in the presence and with the co-operation of the whole assembled Church, as appears from ver. 12 compared with ver. 22, and most distinctly from ver. 25." If, therefore, in ver. 6 only the Apostles and Presbyters are joined to *συνήχθησαν*, this can have but one meaning only; that, viz. these very personages are to be regarded as the managers of the meeting. The fact, however, that the participation of the general body is not expressly noticed, may be thus easily accounted for. St Luke, after the representation he had hitherto given both of the essence and the development of the Church, and after the mention he had made of the part taken as well by the Church of Antioch as by that of Jerusalem in reference to this matter, believes that he could well assume it as a self-evident and established principle that the discussion upon the question which had been raised could not by any means take place without the concurrence and the gathering together of the whole Church. Just as he deemed it to be unnecessary in this passage (ver. 6) to make express mention of any participation in the assembly by the messengers from Antioch, so it appeared to him little needful to do so with reference to the community in Jerusalem.

Before we proceed to follow the proceedings of this assembly, we must endeavour to gain a clear idea of its importance. In the first place we have to see in this assembly a representation of the Church of Christ, such as in the whole period of its development it has never had, and never will have again. It is true the Church on Whitsunday was in so far a still more complete exhibition of the Church, as on that occasion the whole of the then existing extent of the Church were together, and at the same time also furnished a manifestation of the whole of the future expansion of the Church in its fullest consummation. However, the community on that day of Pentecost appears absolutely as the work of God, as the creation of the Holy Ghost. The element of free development and historical movement was only latently present in that great phenomenon. But on this occasion we see the Church already entered on its own movement and development; and that great fact of the twofoldness of the Church, which in the fourth Pentecostal assembly attained to a manifestation only so far as the children of Israel spoke in the tongues of the nations, is here fully evolved. The whole of one portion

of the assembly represents the believers from among the Gentiles, and even though this portion numerically falls far below the other, it has nevertheless a preponderance in the circumstance that the impulse to the whole movement had proceeded from it; and, as we shall see, this half of the Church, by its very existence, furnished the principal motive for the decision which was come to eventually. Now, the party of the Gentiles was on this occasion represented in the assembly in a manner so perfectly adequate and satisfactory, that we may with reason assume that each self-conscious member of this half of the community of the Church would have discerned a sufficient guarantee in the representation which they here enjoyed. The Church at Antioch had introduced the discussion, and every Gentile Christian saw in that Church the maternal representative of all believers from the midst of the Gentiles. But most of the Gentile converts reside in Asia Minor in these four lately founded Churches. Now, the Christians of Antioch send as their deputies Barnabas and Saul, the very men whom these Churches venerated and loved as their fathers in Christ. Had they themselves made a choice, they would not have been able to find any other or better men. As, however, by the grace of God, the Church of Antioch had from the beginning a *peculiar* independence, the side of the Gentile Christians would not have been fully represented unless this element also of independence had been sensibly exhibited. This Church, therefore, sends, together with Paul and Barnabas, men chosen from among themselves. But the fitness of the representation appears to be completed by the circumstance that in Barnabas it possesses a man who is connected with the Apostles and with the Church in Jerusalem, (see iv. 36, 37), while in the person of Paul was one who was connected with the Lord in the same original and independent way as the other Apostles.

But still more immediately obvious, and palpable, is the representation of the Church of the Jewish Christians. The Church of Jerusalem, the mother of all the Churches in Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, is not merely in that character present at this meeting and discussion, but its ordinary and usual representatives, the elders of Jerusalem have helped to bring about the assembly.

Besides them, moreover, the Apostles were present who, as those who had been chosen by the Lord, and confirmed by His Spirit to be the patriarchs of the New Israel, primarily belonged, indeed, to the half of the Jewish Christians; but then again in so far as the object in view was and could be nothing less than the filling up of Israel by the admission of the Gentiles, they were also the natural representatives of the whole Church of Christ, and therefore may be allocated among the Gentile Christians in the same way as Barnabas among the Jewish. Although, therefore, the institutions out of which, at this time, a representation of the Church might be effected, were but very trifling, still we evidently have before us here such a representation of the whole Church, as in later times, with all the resources at command, has never been attained to, since, at no period was the organisation of the Church so transparent as at this time.

If now we here meet in fact with a representation of the Church such as has never been equalled, we ought to take it for granted that this representation had a consciousness of its own significance, and also of the importance of the moment; as well as that this moment had, according to the will of the Lord, quite a special object. We have seen the Church in its Sabbath rest; shall we perhaps here see it in its labour?—we have seen it in its festival solemnity, shall we now see it in its struggles and conflicts?

When we call to mind that the Apostles in Jerusalem—that Paul and Barnabas too—had long previously, in their own minds, come to a conclusion on the mooted question; for what end, then, we may ask, was this calling in not only of the Presbyters, but also of the several members of the Church? Were they intended to be present merely as witnesses while the Apostles refuted the Pharisees and their presumptuous teaching, and convinced them of their error? We see, however, that they did not come forward with any distinct and decisive declaration of their opinion until there had already been much disputation and discussion on the matter (πολλῆς συζητήσεως γενομένης ver. 7). Moreover, it does not at all consist with a purely passive, or at most, a recipient participation on the part of the assembly, if at the close its opinion is

brought under consideration (ver. 24), and still less that in the Epistle, which contained the decision of the assembly, the brethren are also named as voting and deciding (ver. 23).

But how are we to explain it that the Apostles, with their superior knowledge and the authority committed unto them, retire so far into the background, that all present are to be thought of as taking part both in the deliberation and the decision of the assembly, since by this arrangement every security for a fruitful result was apparently abandoned? It becomes, indeed, quickly evident that, with the Apostles, it must have been a proximate object, considering both their own position relatively to the community, and also the peculiarity of the question before them, to bring the several members of the community to a self-conscious conviction on the whole of the disputable position which they had to discuss. And from the Epistles still more clearly even than from the conduct of the Apostles as hitherto described in the Acts, does it become manifest that they did not come before the brethren with their authority in order to move them to adopt any particular conviction or line of conduct, but that on all occasions they treated the different Churches as capable of deciding for themselves, and that it was merely by laying before them their own thoughts and volitions, and feelings, that they sought to determine and move them: *οὐχ ὅτι κυριεύομεν ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως ἀλλὰ σύνεργοί ἐσμεν τῆς χαρᾶς ὑμῶν, τῇ γὰρ πίστει ἑστήκατε*, writes St Paul to the Corinthians (2 Cor. i. 24), and after he has completed that Epistle to the Romans, so full of weighty matter, he speaks to his readers in the following manner: *πέπεισμαι δὲ, ἀδελφοί μου, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ περὶ ὑμῶν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ μεστοί ἐστε ἀγαθωσύνης, πεπληρωμένοι πάσης γνώσεως, δυνάμενοι καὶ ἀλλήλους νουθετεῖν; τολμηρότερον δὲ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοὶ ἀπὸ μέρους, ὡς ἐπαναμιμνήσκων ὑμᾶς διὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ εἶναί με λειτοῦργον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη* (see Rom. xv. 14, 15). And even to the Thessalonians, although they had only just been converted from idolatry to the faith in Jesus, he says: *περὶ δὲ τῆς φιλαδελφίας οὐ χρείαν ἔχετε γράφειν ὑμῖν; αὐτοὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς θεοδίδακτοί ἐστε εἰς τὸ ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους* (see iv. 9). And that such a position relatively to the Churches is not, as might be urged, at all exclusively peculiar to St Paul, but that rather it belonged to the Apostles generally, we

see from totally similar expressions of St John and St Peter. *ὑμεῖς χρίσμα ἔχετε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ οἴδατε πάντα· οὐκ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι οἴδατε αὐτὴν* (1 John ii. 20). Further, *καὶ ὑμεῖς τὸ χρίσμα ὃ ἐλάβετε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν μένει, καὶ οὐ χρείαν ἔχετε ἵνα τις διδάσκῃ ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ὡς τὸ αὐτὸ χρίσμα διδάσκει ὑμᾶς περὶ πάντων, καὶ ἀληθές ἐστι καὶ οὐκ ἔστι ψεῦδος, καὶ καθὼς ἐδίδαξεν ὑμᾶς, μενεῖτε ἐν αὐτῷ* (ver. 27). And at the close of his first Epistle, Peter writes: *διὰ Σιλουανοῦ ὑμῖν τοῦ πιστοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὡς λογίζομαι, δι' ὀλίγων ἔγραψα, παρακαλῶν καὶ ἐπιμαρτυρῶν ταύτην εἶναι ἀληθῆ χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ἣν ἑστήκατε.*

From these avowals we see that it was the Apostle's *earnest desire* to teach and exhort the Church in no other way than that of brotherly fellowship. In the present case there must have been a still deeper wish to observe this method, since it was even by a Church that the whole question had been brought before them.

Now the case does certainly admit of the supposition that the Apostles, with their superior wisdom and experience, retired into the background in order to allow to the several members of the community perfect freedom of discussion, and to render it possible and easy for them, by an independent act of their own judgment, to adopt the truth which was inherent in the matter. In this way the conclusion which, in this disputable matter, the Apostles had once arrived at, and which had been Divinely established, would not be called into question again; while, on the other hand, the danger arising from the general right to vote was sufficiently provided against by their power—which, as they had only momentarily waived it, they could resume at any instant they pleased —of deciding according to their own firm and indestructible conviction.

Whether, however, with this conception of the first meeting of the representatives of the Church, we are doing justice to the gravity of the emergency, must be left to a closer examination of the account before us, to shew. Now the first sentence of our report tells us that the Apostles and elders of Jerusalem were gathered together to consider about this business (*ἰδεῖν περὶ τοῦ λόγου τούτου*. ver. 6). There is scarcely a doubt that if this sentence is seriously meant (and why should it not be?) we cannot rest contented with the view which we previously advanced

of the discussion here carried on. We have supposed that the Apostles had long ago made up their minds, and were quite decided upon the question; and that this opinion of theirs formed the stable point around which the whole discussion moved, and that if it did not at once demand submission to itself, it was simply with a view of leading on the vagueness and indecision of the several members of the community, with the greater certainty and permanence, to the stedfastness of the Apostles' doctrine. Now, at the very opening, however, we are told that the Apostles also had come together in order to take this matter into consideration, and to discover what was right and true with regard to it. And, indeed, if we have rightly maintained that, in the subject of *συνήχθησαν*, we must understand the whole assembly as being tacitly included, and that consequently *ἰδεῖν* must, in like manner, be referred to all the members of the Church; then it is not possible for us so to arrange the matter as that *ἰδεῖν* should apply only to those persons who are not mentioned here, and that, on the other hand, it should not, in any wise, be understood of those of whom, however, it is really and expressly predicated. But now, if it be not of love and condescension that the stable point of the Apostles' conviction and authority is not merely kept back, but if, on the contrary, their opinion also is, of need and necessity, involved in the movement of discussion; where then, on the one hand, is the conviction and knowledge already gained, and where, on the other hand, is the surety that, out of this universal uncertainty and indecision a useful result will be obtained.

In order to answer these questions, we must try to make it clear to our minds what is meant by knowledge and truth in that domain, on which the facts lie, that here fall under consideration. If the truth, which is here in question, is apprehended in the form in which it is usually conceived of in the predominantly theoretical tendency of our whole habit of thought —in the form, *i.e.* of a general notion—then the conduct of the Apostles in this assembly is wholly inconceivable. Through the revelation imparted to him, and by unquestionably Divine attestations, Peter had long ago been led to see, that God had lowered the difference between the Jew and the Gentile to the level of a purely external matter, and allowed not His counsels to be in any way

influenced by nationality, by circumcision or uncircumcision, but by the sentiments and character alone. And further, he had learned that God did find among the Gentiles such sentiments as are well-pleasing to Him, even without any mediation of Jewish institutions and rites. If, therefore, it had not been previously known to Peter, that in Christ the old distinction between Jew and Gentile was done away, yet at any rate after the conversion of Cornelius it must have become quite clear to him; and, indeed, the fact was on that occasion so firmly established in his mind, that he also convinced the other believers and his fellow-Apostles of it (see xi. 18). But, now, the matter which was the subject of debate in the present instance, was nothing else than this very truth. What are we then to think of the Apostles' qualifications and fitness, if St Peter and all the rest conduct themselves as they would, if they came quite fresh to the discussion —as if precisely the very matter which they long since settled in their own minds, were again made by them a question and dispute. Was there then any need of anything beyond ordinary consistency in thinking, *i.e.* simply to maintain on this occasion what was once acknowledged—or was, then, the first proposition of St Peter's address in the house of Cornelius insufficient here? In, fact this kind of behaviour must appear to us very childish and schoolboy-like, and quite unworthy of the high and holy Apostles of Jesus Christ. The assumption, however, from which, in this representation of the matter, one sets out, is a perfectly false one. Scriptural truth is not in any case a notion, not a proposition, not a system—it is not comprised in any convenient form or formula, that one may commit to memory without fear of losing it again. It does not exist first of all in thought and for thought. In its essence it is history—the history of God upon earth. Therefore, the subject-matter of the Gospel, according to the assertion of our author, which he has placed at the head of his history of the Apostles, is what Jesus did, and, after that, comes what He taught (see i. 1). And therefore not only grace, but also truth, is spoken of as that which "came by" Jesus Christ (see John i. 17), and thus only can it be intelligible that the most perfect manifestation of truth was an historical personage, viz., Jesus Christ (see John xiv. 4). But now, if the truth, in an objective sense, is historical and personal, then the subjective stimulus

to this truth cannot be thought of as effected otherwise than by an ethical relation to this history—to this personality. Therefore the continuance in this truth is the doing of the truth (ἀληθεύειν) not the isolated persisting in a certain range of ideas and convictions; on the contrary, this continuance is essentially bound up with love, which rests in a vital relation to God and man (ἀληθεύοντες ἐν ἀγάπῃ Eph. iv. 15). Therefore, the truth can and must not only be felt, and recognized; but it also can, and must be done (see John iii. 21; 1 John i. 6 cf; Rev. xxi. 27; xxii. 15).

The recognition, therefore, and the maintenance of truth, depends essentially on the communion in which a man stands with Christ. If he possesses this communion, then with it he has also the truth. But as certainly as a man, by means of his implanting into the communion of Christ has and possesses the truth, so certainly must he, from the very moment of that communion, still seek to acquire the truth. For all that he has in Christ, he has not in himself; the not having, therefore, is as much his own as the having; and the blending of this contrariety of having and not having is even the proper life of the Christian. In this movement of life the Christian on each occasion comes to the possession of truth only by a repetition of the original contact between himself and Christ; in that Christ, as the absolute giver and communicator, unites Himself with him as the absolute receiver and partaker. Now, the adoption and acquisition of truth on each occasion does certainly admit of being conceived of, and expressed in a definite form. And this form, as the result of that inner spiritual process, has consequently its great significance and importance; but beyond that, this form must not claim any authority. If, for instance, this form, set free from this its genesis, is made valid beyond that rich domain of life, which is grounded in this moment of beginning, and set up as truth, then the form of truth is sure to take the place of the truth itself; and the attempt ends in the suppression of Christ—the personal and substantial truth. And then, in this case, things assume such a shape, that at the very point of a man's development at which the communion with Christ ought in a self-conscious and voluntary manner to be completed anew, he supplies the place of Christ by this previously attained form of truth. That, however, a form of truth which has previously been attained to,

cannot any longer be the corresponding expression of the relation between him and Christ, is brought home to the conscience of the Christian by that check in his spiritual life which occurs in the meanwhile. The perception, however, of such a check ought, whenever it happens, to be a warning to him, that towards Christ he ought always to maintain a purely receptive relation, if he wishes to become aware and certain of that truth which he is then called upon to make his own.

Now, in this light, let us observe the Apostles with reference to the question here lying before them of the circumcision of the Gentiles. That the Apostles of Christ were in the actual possession of the truth in general, and consequently also of the correct solution of this question, cannot, in Christian theology, be called into question for a moment. Now, in reference to the very point before us, the appropriation of the truth, precisely in the normal way we have indicated, is, we find, set forth quite clearly and distinctly by St Luke's report of the history of the Apostles. In their anxiety about the establishment of the kingdom of Israel, they at the very beginning apply to Christ (i. 6), and the information which they receive, both by word of mouth (i. 7—9) and by facts (i. 11) fully confirms to them the validity of the promises made to the people of Israel. With regard, however, to the final accomplishment of these promises, they are referred to the future; in such wise, however, that, from the very first, a relation of priority in the offer of salvation is to be reserved to Israel (see i. 4, 8, 12). Now this course (so clearly inculcated both by the words and deeds of Jesus) which has its starting place at Jerusalem, and finds its end in Jerusalem, was that on which, as we have seen, the Apostles started; and in truth in such a manner that on every occasion of hindrance, they were visibly reminded of fellowship with Jesus, and derived from that communion with Him their ultimate decision. The first check that they met was, when in Jerusalem the Sanhedrim set itself to oppose the preaching of the Apostles with violence and with threats. We also see how, upon the annihilation of all the hopes which they had cherished of a change of sentiment in the supreme authorities in Israel, the Apostles were but driven to renew their communion with God and Christ; and in the deeper consciousness of such fellowship which they thus acquired, they were able to feel

both joy and glory in their suffering and shame. A second check met them when the animosity of the Jews in Jerusalem was at its height; when Herod, to please the people, slew James with the sword, and had also seized Peter and cast him into prison, with the design of sacrificing him after the passover to the fanatical hatred of the multitude. It was only from communion with the Lord, who, by His own example, and by His own state of withdrawal into the Heavens, exhorted them to quietude and confidence, that they could draw the necessary strength to leave Jerusalem without forthwith entering upon the course originally assigned to them—even of going unto the ends of the world. And now they had to undergo their third hindrance on their dark course, which nothing but the light of Christ enlightened. As at an earlier period, even, it had been shewn by significant signs and facts, that in the same measure that Israel hardened himself ever more and more against the Gospel, the Gentiles would attach themselves to it; so in the most recent events the same fact had been set forth historically on a most magnificent scale. The Church of Antioch had been formed out of the Gentiles, while at the same time the word that was to establish the faith had awakened among the Jews in the same places nothing but opposition and the bitterest hostility. The conversion of the Gentiles to the living God could not be aught else than a joy to the Apostles; but the fact, that this conversion took place in such wise that Israel was only the further removed from God, must be a still greater pain to them. Moreover, in these last times the Apostolical vocation of St Paul had been shewn forth so decidedly that it was necessarily acknowledged by all, and before all others, by the Apostles themselves (see Gal. ii. 6—10). That another should be placed side by side with them to share their labour, their dignity, and their office (such was the purity of their sentiments and efforts) could prove to them nothing but an encouragement and a consolation. But that this Apostolical colleague should be called and prepared in such a way as necessarily must deepen their perception that the patriarchal Apostolate could not, in the first instance, accomplish its original vocation of gaining over to the Gospel the Gentiles even unto the end of the earth, this was a perception which must have driven

the prick of pain still deeper into their hearts. When, then, the question was brought before them, whether the believing Gentiles ought or not to submit to circumcision, they must have soon discerned, that herein a decision was required of them such as they had never before been called upon to make. For the more clearly it had already become apparent, that the Church of Christ would, in time, consist wholly and entirely of Gentiles, and that, therefore, its original form, (according to which it was exhibited as the season of the first-fruits of the renewed and perfected Israel,) would be transmuted into quite a different one, the more urgent and the more sharply pressing must the question become, whether, in the Gentile Church, that Divine sign ought not to be retained which always indicated a reference to the people of God, in order that, within the institutions of salvation on earth, the visible sign, at least, of the Israelite nationality, might be preserved, even at a time when Israel itself should stand aloof. We may surely give the Apostles credit for a glimpse into futurity; we may well assume that they had an inkling of what would come to pass—and what, (as we now see it,) has actually come to pass. Supposing, therefore, that they did form a notion how that contempt and depreciation of Israel which, they were well aware, did exist in the Gentile world, would also penetrate into the Gentile Church, unless some distinct and unmistakeable allusion continually reminded them of Israel; in such a case how naturally must the thought have suggested itself that they, as Apostles of Israel, were called upon to make provision against this imminent peril within the Church of a total neglect of the past, the present, and the future of Israel, by insisting that the rite of circumcision should be observed by the Gentiles. Now that we fully see how long and dark a road of self-denial and suffering Christ had to enter upon, before He could take possession of the kingdoms of this world, when He rejected the short and easy way which Satan proposed to that end, we can at length understand the strength of the tempter's invitation to do so by falling down and worshipping the God of this world. And, in the same way, the present position of the Christians of the uncircumcision relatively to the people of God —to the grandeur of its past history, to its present sorrow-

ful fortunes, and to the glory of its future hopes, may enable us to arrive at a clear conviction of the gravity of the question which was now laid before the souls of the Apostles.

But in this matter the Apostles were not left to their own calm deliberation. They were assailed from without. It may probably have soon become apparent to their minds, that it was not with perfect purity of motive and true singleness of heart that the believing Pharisees insisted on the circumcision of the Gentiles; but still the latter would not omit both from Scripture and history, from prophecy and past fulfilments of prophecy, to insist upon and to establish the eternal significance of the people of God and of His covenant, and also of His law. They would not fail to make them, as the Apostles of Israel, the judges and the Patriarchs of the twelve tribes chosen by Jesus, answerable for every misapprehension and infraction of the holy inviolable ordinances of God, which might arise out of the Gentile Christianity. And from the results of our previous examination we may set it down as certain, that the Apostles would not find it so easy to dispatch these objections of the Pharisees, as most of the commentators and theologians of our own days fancy. If, then, we have hitherto found in the case of similar questions, that the Apostles did not avail themselves of any judgment which had been previously come to, and did not by such means help themselves out of the difficulty, but continued to attain to a decision by seeking and finding communion with their Lord; was it likely that they would adopt a different course on the present occasion on which they could not fail to feel that the decision at stake was one which would affect all ages of the Church?

But in the case before us not only the climax of the importance of the question itself comes into consideration, but also the circumstance that it has ceased to be one merely personal to the Apostles alone, but relates to the whole Church. The Apostles have not on this, as on former instances, to decide for themselves; but the decision they are to give is one which is to regulate the future conduct of the whole Gentile Church relatively to an essential point. And the decision too will affect not only one portion of the Church, but it is one also which has an important bearing on the other also. For if the Gentiles must submit to circumcision, then besides the faith in Jesus, the Jewish Church has a some-

thing further which possesses a permanent value in the ordinance of salvation by Christ—namely, the sign of circumcision. But if they may safely remain in uncircumcision, then the two parts of the Church are set forth as perfectly equal, in regard to justification, and the community of the Jewish Christians, are recommended in nowise to put any trust in their own prerogatives. The question, such as it was put by the Church in Antioch, the way that the deputation entrusted with it should be received by the Church in Jerusalem, constituted in fact an occasion which concerned nothing less than the whole Church. That case has now occurred to the whole Church, which hitherto we have regarded as an individual one, and only in an immediate application to the Apostles. The Church on its way of development has arrived at a point where its quiet progress is checked by a question being brought before it which, inasmuch as the question itself was first started by its arrival at this new stage, cannot be decided by its previous experience. Thus the question is conceived under both its aspects ; for if the people of Antioch had been certain that uncircumcision in them was as acceptable to God as circumcision was in the believing Jews, then they would not have sent a deputation to Jerusalem about this question (*περὶ τοῦ ζητήματος τούτου* ver. 2). And if, on the other hand, the Jewish Christians had been convinced that in any case the Gentile Christians were bound to observe the rite of circumcision, the elders of Jerusalem would not have been assembled to give the matter a degree of consideration such as never before there had been occasion for (*ἰδεῖν περὶ τοῦ λόγου τούτου* ver. 6).

Not only the Apostles, therefore, but also the whole Church, must recognise, and (as we see) did recognise the fact, that a question was here raised whose significance and importance for the future times of the Church would never be so distinctly perceptible as it then was ; and in which, however, all the experience and wisdom they had hitherto acquired, was not sufficient to enable them to arrive at a right judgment, considering the immeasurable gravity of its wide-spread consequences. Ought, then, the Church, in the hope of attaining to this correct opinion, to adopt a different method from that which we have found was marked out for the individual Christian, and which we have also seen that the Apostles themselves observed. That would be impossible; because

the union between the Church and its Head cannot be thought of as taking place in any other way than by the communion between Christ and the Christian family viz., by personal love. Since, therefore, the Church is fully conscious of her present position, and of the gravity of the obligation now lying upon her to decide what shall be the future course of her development, nothing else remains for her than in her collective body to seek the Lord and to content herself with no answer (however holy and godlike an appearance it may present) than that which it should receive from the head of the Church Himself. Now then we are at last able to understand why such a representation of the Church which admits of comparison with the assembly on the day of Pentecost was on this occasion gathered together. Now also we are at last in a position to understand and to estimate as well the nature and method of the deliberation as also the result.

First of all, we see that the whole assembly in its proceedings moves with perfect freedom, and total absence of restraint. For the Apostles do not come forward—as they might perhaps—with any precise limitations of the discussion, with preliminary rules and authoritative regulations; but the very first thing they do is to open the discussion and to leave it perfectly free. By so doing they give rise to no slight disputation (πολλὴ συζήτησις cf. xxviii. 29; 1 Cor. i. 20). The Church stands in presence of her righteous Lord and head; with regard to the question before her she feels herself to be greatly perplexed and very ignorant—no experience, no principle, no Scripture, comes in to supply her need. She knows not how to answer the question so heavily pressing on her; but she also knows that the Lord has promised to her in her totality the necessary strength for each occasion, so that even though the gates of hell should send forth all its might, the Church should nevertheless come out victorious (see Matt. xvi. 18). From the circumstance that all alike, as knowing nothing, must bow before the Lord whose illumination they were seeking, arises a feeling of humility, and no one ventures, by anticipation, to give his decision; while from the fact that throughout this circle there reigns the belief that the Lord had promised His light and His strength pre-eminently to the whole body, and not to any individual, nor to any chosen corporation, there arises a boldness in all, and each feels that he

is at liberty freely to speak his mind. It is merely on this hypothesis that we can explain how it was, that St Peter maintained silence at first, and St Paul, who, through his own conversion, had received the clearest illumination on the whole matter, and who, by what he had done and accomplished in Cyprus and Asia Minor, had been attested even before the whole Church to be an Apostle of Christ, did not at the very beginning come forward, and that when he did at last stand up it was only to narrate what had been done, and that too in a subordinate position after Barnabas. It is therefore nothing surprising if Zeller (see theolog. Jahrb. 1849 S. 437)—who has no conception of the solemn earnestness of the Assembly—is utterly unable to understand the behaviour of St Paul in these proceedings. For, from what other source was the necessary courage for a free discussion to be derived, but from the belief that the truth which was to guide the assembly could never be the possession of an individual or of a class, but that it would be given to the whole Church when they sought and desired it? Or does any one believe that the purity and sincerity of the Apostolical Church furnished an external guarantee that this free movement should never outstep its due limits, and never be the occasion of any disturbance? This surely is certain that at no time was there such a fulness of the Holy Spirit poured out upon the Church as then, and, as we here find, comprised in one place. But, in the first place, we ought not to overlook the fact (which we have already had occasion to call to remembrance), that the height from which the Apostles, in their condescension, had to come down, was very different from that held by our *Superintendents*. Moreover, as regards the case which we are considering, two other matters require also to be taken into consideration. Unquestionably the purity and sincerity of the Church of these days were much greater than ever they subsequently were; but, then, has there ever been an error that exhibited such strength and boldness, and which could point to such a connection with a holy past and a Divine future, as this Judaising doctrine which had given rise to the whole controversy? It is perfectly self-evident, that the Pharisees, as believers, took part in the assembly, and came forward with at least the same confidence as they had done in the Church at Antioch (see ver. 1) and

as they had also done in the previous meeting (ver. 5). If now the Pharisees began, from Scripture and the experience of history, to prove the importance of Israel for the past and the present, and the future of the kingdom of God, must there not have been very many present in the assembly who would be able to give no answer to the proofs thus alleged in support of the erroneous teaching? Let us only bear in mind that, by means of such assaults, after the question had been formally and solemnly decided, it was brought about that Peter and Barnabas, notwithstanding that they had essentially contributed to the decision, were, for a time, again involved in error. In truth, had not a faith in the Church and in its essential communion with the Lord, lived and ruled in the hearts of the Apostles and the elders of Jerusalem who called the assembly, most assuredly they would never have found the courage to allow such a free movement of discussion; never would they have thought it possible to arrive at the truth over the tossing waves of violent mental excitement. And there is yet a further matter to be duly considered, which in like manner must make us look upon this seeking for the truth as an act of faith. Not only was the error stronger than any subsequent manifestation of it can ever be, but even the question was in itself graver and more important than any that can ever again occur in the Church. For if, as we intimated above, the greatest difficulty of decision, and fiercest assault of error, in every case arise within that domain of questions where, with the faith in Jesus, something or other which is not Jesus, is joined in a necessary and constraining fashion; and if the danger increases in proportion as this other thing possesses in itself some importance for the realisation of salvation; then the answer to the question, whether Israel and the Patriarchal Apostolate ought to be thrown into the background, in order that Christ might join Himself to the Gentiles, without their attaching themselves in any wise to Israel, and without the mediation of that Apostolate, was even a decision which, made once for all, would involve the most important and most pregnant consequences for the whole future of the Church.

The powerful advocacy on both sides leads to no cognizable result. This much only flows from it, that the Pharisees, whom (according to the peculiar position which we have already seen

them holding with regard to this same matter), we must look upon as the appealing party, met with a decided contradiction from the multitude, so that even in this circumstance the important fact became apparent, that with all their arts of seduction, they were nevertheless not able to ensnare the simple minds of the assembly. Among the opponents of the Pharisees we must place in the foremost rank the deputies from the Church of Antioch; but with them, without doubt, there were also joined men of like sentiments from the Churches of Palestine who, as St Paul writes, (see Gal. i. 24) rejoiced greatly at the work of God among the Gentiles. But now, when there had been much arguing on both sides, and all that was to be said in support of each view was exhausted, and thereby a desire and expectation had been awakened in every mind for some word or advice to decide the matter one way or other, Peter rose up and briefly addressed them. Since we have seen that the Apostles, no less than the whole community, asked and sought from the Lord the decisive emancipating word of truth, we must, with regard to this coming forward of Peter, suppose that in this universal need, this fraternal seeking, an intimation had been given him such as he had never before received. If it is said of the Lord Himself ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθε (Heb. v. 8); how much more might not the same be said of His disciples and His whole Church? But the chief point, however, to be considered, is, that the word he utters is decisive, and that in it a progress of his knowledge is unmistakeably exhibited. For whereas before, he had, indeed, in kindred questions, come forward with perfectly confident opinions; nevertheless, as regarded the present principal point, he had not previously arrived at any satisfactory conclusion. Now, on the contrary, he speaks most decidedly against the Pharisees. It is, however, of importance for us to weigh the reasons on which St Peter supports his decision. From ver. 10 we see that he directed his remarks pre-eminently to that portion of the community which was most favourable to the views of the Pharisees. And it is evident that he did so from a wish to shew his unqualified opposition to that part of the assembly. From this fact we may see still more clearly that the doctrine of the Pharisees had not only found its advocates in the synod, but that they also had contrived to make so strong an impression that St Peter felt it

before all things to be necessary directly to oppose them. But now he does not indeed do this in such a manner, as immediately to exclude from the assembly all who were adherents of the false doctrine; on the contrary, it is they that we are to understand as especially addressed by the term ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί. How came St Peter to this mildness? Although he had attained to a sure conviction in respect to the matter, still he forgot not for a moment that he was not the assembly, but only a single member of it. But now he knows that all present as well as himself, had set out with a desire to find and to establish the truth; so long, however, as this had not been done, no one ought to be cast out as a teacher of error. It is, consequently, quite consistent with all that we have learned and established concerning this assembly, if Peter, although he addresses these brethren as undoubtedly in error, still regards them as those who are standing at the spot where all in common are seeking the truth.

What, then, are the means by which St Peter attempts to work on the convictions of the assembly? He appeals to a fact—though not, indeed, as we might have expected, to the instruction and the teaching vouchsafed to him in the vision at Joppa—but to a fact which had fallen under the observation of others as well as of himself, so that he reckons on a common knowledge of it existing in the assembly. Expressly appealing to those who had shared his experience of the fact (ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε), he reminds them of what had taken place in the house of Cornelius, which, (as if the greatness of the impressive urgency of the events did as it were, proportionately lengthen the time of their existence), he speaks of as having happened a good while ago. Yet, indeed, as he himself says—neither to Peter nor to the assembly was this event any new thing; how then could St Peter promise himself any result from appealing to it? How could the event possess any decisive weight for himself, if up to this moment he had not been able to draw from it any precise answer to the question before them? Hitherto it had furnished him so far with enlightenment and conviction that not only in the whole of His labours for the first fruits of the Gentiles he had performed the obligation laid on him with unwavering resolution and joy, but also he was enabled to defend himself before the distrustful and doubting with such convincing force that all were appeased and praised God for what

had been done (see xi. 18). Further, this event had afforded to him and his fellow-Apostles the necessary clearness of perception and calmness, when in Antioch a Gentile Christian Church was formed by the hand of the secretly working spirit (see xi. 19—26). Moreover, it had also contributed to give Peter and the other Apostles the necessary courage for leaving Jerusalem in order (so far as their own vocation rendered it allowable and beneficial) to go to those places where God had opened the door to faith (xii. 17). Lastly, it was this fact, without doubt, that proved the best support for the Apostles, and encouraged them not in the least to give way to the vehement demands of the Pharisees, however holy the zeal, and however great the semblance of truth with which they were urged. But now after our previous investigations we need only to call to mind the fact, that the chief question that now stood for discussion far transcended all that we have hitherto spoken of. It is not, however, said that even though St Peter and the rest did not look at the event with a view to see whether it did not contain a solution to the question before them, that answer was nevertheless already given in it. This, then, is the blessing which St Peter derives from the humble self-renunciation with which he had given up all his honour of Apostolical enlightenment and revelations in in order to sit on the seat of the learner with all the rest before the one only Master (Matt. xxiii. 10), and His holy all-sufficient presence, that in this hour and in this place a new light dawned upon him—a Divine light which also perfectly lighted up all the darkness of the present question. Peter, for instance, adduces the fact (which, in the account of the conversion of Cornelius, we have already felt bound to recognize even as essential), that this conversion had been evidently brought about by God Himself. For the words ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἡμῖν ἐξελέξατο (ver. 7), are intended to mark the intentionality and first causation on God's part. And as clearly as the beginning of this business, so the close of it is also stamped with the seal of God. That which, in his first report in Jerusalem, Peter had long ago urged as an unmistakeable sign, that the believing Gentiles had received exactly the same gift of God as the believing Israelites (see xi. 15—17), he here enforces with still greater power; inasmuch as he now expresses the comparison negatively as well as positively (ver. 8). That in so doing, however, he does not at all go be-

yond the real state of the case and does no more than establish it in its full significance, is shown by a comparison of the first narrative (see x. 44—46).

Peter now determines to explain still further this Divine operation among the Gentiles, and to set forth still more clearly the intimation contained in it. He calls the bestowal of the Spirit a witness which God had, by matter of fact, borne unto them (*ἐμαρτύρησεν αὐτοῖς* ver. 8). He sees therein, therefore, a testimony from God that these Gentiles are to be considered quite equal to, and to be placed perfectly on a par with, the Israelites who had believed in Jesus. But God's testimony must be in accordance with the state of things. God therefore cannot testify that these Gentiles stand on the same level with the disciples out of Israel if this be not really the case. In all, however, that had hitherto come under consideration in this respect, there was a distinction between the Gentile and the Jew ; the latter bore about in his body the sign of the covenant of the Lord, and the former, the sign of the impure nature alienated from God. In regard, therefore, to the body, and externally, there was a distinction. But the whole assembly knew that God really looks to the heart of a man and not to his outward shape or his body (1 Sam. xvi. 7; Acts i. 24). But let no man be surprised on that account, if it is God's will that those who are externally unlike should nevertheless be alike regarded ; since He is a God who knoweth the hearts and turneth Him according to the state of the heart. And this of course implies that the similitude which God intends to seal with this testimony must be a likeness of heart on both sides. And this St Peter asserts even expressly in the words *τῇ πίστει καθαρίσας τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν*. With this expression he evidently intends to meet the prevailing feeling of the Jews, by admitting that the Gentiles had hitherto been unclean. But in the sight of God who looked to the heart, their uncleanness was not so much in the body as in the heart; on which account the removal of impurity is effected not so much by the circumcision which God had commanded, as by the faith which God had worked. In this assertion also St Peter could reckon on the concurrence of the assembly. For it had long before been very plainly attested by the Scriptures of the Old Testament that it is not by the circumcision of the flesh, but only by the circumcision of the heart that the impurity which

is hateful to God can be taken away (see Deut. x. 16; Jer. vi. 10).

Peter, then, having in this way exhibited the inner aspect of this Divine event, appeals, in the next place, to the consciences of the Israelites, in order to be able forthwith to acquire and to set forth a valid and lawful conclusion on the question which awaited their decision. When he expressed himself with regard to this fact for the first time, he had contented himself with justifying his own conduct in the house of Cornelius by that Divine testimony (see xi. 17). A glance back at this proceeding will show plainly enough, how much farther, by means of this same fact, St Peter was at present enabled to advance in his own knowledge and interpretation of it. In the same way as formerly he had regarded and appealed to the practical testimony of God in the house of Cornelius, as determining and deciding his own conduct on that occasion; so now he finds in the same testimony an equally definite and indubitable declaration of God as to the question concerning the circumcision of the believing Gentiles. To such a degree is this the case, that he pronounces the error of the Pharisees to be a tempting of God (*τί πειράζετε τὸν θεόν;* ver. 10). The tempting of God is, namely, that sin in Israel which men commit by demeaning themselves and acting as if the God of Israel, although He has revealed himself and shown His truth unto them in the most perfect manner possible, were nevertheless like a man utterly uncertain and not to be relied upon (cf. Ex. xvii. 7). But in expressing this decision, St Peter manages, at the sametime, to appeal to the consciences of the several members of the Assembly. He calls circumcision together with the whole law to which it bound men (see ver. 5; cf. Gal. v. 3) a yoke which neither their fathers nor themselves were able to bear. This confession is founded on an insight into the essence of the law, which prescribes the tithing not only of mint, anise, and cummin, but also no less earnestly the doing of justice, mercy, and truth (see Matt. xxiii. 23).

This now is the reverse side of the assertion with respect to the state of the believing Gentiles. Just, that is to say, as with them the impurity of the flesh had never proved an obstacle to their actual well-pleasingness to God, so with the Israelites their circumcision and fulfilling of the law had in nothing advanced them towards true perfection. Thus, from this point of view, also,

it becomes clear that the point to be regarded was not the external observance, however important or however holy it might be—but faith (ver. 11); and since the subject-matter of this faith, such as it exists in an equal degree for Jews and for Gentiles—viz., salvation by the grace of Jesus, is expressly added, the former negative assertion of this deficiency of the law is thus again once more confirmed.

A disposition has been shown to regard these expressions of St Peter as contradictory to the position elsewhere maintained by him; and on that account to call in question the historical truth of our account (see Baur der Apostel Paulus S. 118, 125; Zeller u. s. S. 437; Ritschl die Entstehung d. altkathol. Kirche S. 113). If by the words "the most liberal and very far-going speech of Peter," nothing else is meant than that Peter, up to this time, had never spoken out so decidedly in favour of the freedom of the Gentiles from the law, and generally of the subordinate position of the law; why one can have nothing to say against that. To our minds, however, such a fact is so far from being a contradiction to the history, that, on the contrary, we are able to follow the historical progress, step by step, up to this point; and we consequently have it in our power to point out the historical necessity of this most liberal declaration. But we have at our command also another and a different testimony, in support of the position here advanced by St Peter, and indeed, such an one as these critics cannot well reject. For it is found in that very passage which they are wont *most fondly* to insist on in their attacks upon the historical value of our narrative. In the passage in which St Paul takes St Peter so sharply to book for withdrawing from the Gentiles, he evidently proceeds on the supposition that St Peter not only knows how untenable his present conduct was, but that also he had at an earlier period, both by word and by deed, maintained the very opposite opinion (see Gal. ii. 14—21). The whole speech of St Paul properly has no other object than to point out the utter contradiction to his own previous position which Peter had involved himself in by his present behaviour (see Winer ad Gal. ii. 18; Hofmann Schriftbeweis i. 534). If, therefore, St Paul says, Gal. ii. 18: "If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor," he characterises thereby St Peter's earlier conduct as a destroying of the obligation on Christians to

follow a Jewish life, as indeed he had also previously reminded St Peter how he had eaten with the Gentiles (see Gal. ii. 12)—which in his appeal to Peter he calls a living after the manner of the Gentiles and not after that of the Jews (see v. 14). It cannot be denied that what St Paul here says of St Peter relatively to the law, and which he characterises as his proper standing, (to which, if he had proved unfaithful, it was merely from a temporizing policy and a regard to the opinion of others), does in nowise exhibit a lower degree of conscious liberty in respect to the law, than we find to be maintained in this speech of St Peter, whose genuineness is disputed. If, then, this weakness of St Peter, in yielding to the Judaizers, which is at once mentioned and condemned by St Paul in his Epistle to the Galatians, is especially insisted on as the other independent testimony, from which preeminently the unhistorical character of the speech of St Peter, as here recorded, is to be established (see Zeller ibid S. 440, 441 ; Schwegler Nachapostol. Zeitalter i. 118), these critics evidently overlook the fact, that that very testimony implies, that St Peter had once maintained precisely such a position as that, which in his speech to the Synod that Apostle gave utterance to. Whatever difficulty therefore exists, it arises not from any contradiction between Acts xv. and Gal. ii. ; but in the self-contradiction in which St Peter had for awhile involved itself. Since, however, this inconsistency in the conduct of St Peter (which nevertheless is a fact established quite independently of the Apostolical history) is not touched upon in the work we are examining, we may well leave it to itself.

The speech of St Peter had a great effect on the assembly. It is said, for instance, "Then all the multitude kept silence" (v. 12). St Peter had delivered his word to the Assembly, which was greatly agitated by the waves of conflicting opinions. He had appealed to a fact with which they had all been long acquainted, which certainly must have been already brought under consideration. He had applied this fact to the present question, by an appeal to universally admitted convictions, and had gained a determinate result. In what, then, lay its power, that it so quickly hushed to silence, and to further listening, the raging storm of contradiction and passion? Was it the authority of Peter? As in Antioch the Judaisers had not shunned to come forward in

opposition to St Paul, nor in the assembly at Jerusalem to assert in the face of all the Apostles, their own opinions in their utmost rigour; it was not at all likely that they would have given place to St Peter; and the less so, as in this passage nothing is less insisted on than deference to his authority. The influence, of which we discern the effects, belonged exclusively to the speech itself; and, indeed, to two elements of it especially. For to two points mainly had St Peter directed the attention of those present. He had pointed, for instance, to a work which lay before their eyes, and was unquestionably the work of God; and had also appealed to an inward experience which was common to the consciences of all. The simpler this twofold appeal was, the more constraining must have been its power of conviction. Thrice, emphatically mentioning the name of God, St Peter refers his hearers to a well-known fact, of recent occurrence, which was universally acknowledged to be the work of God. Now, if this assembly sets up to be the Church of God, they will be anxious to maintain their true relation to God. They were at that moment met together precisely with the view of becoming intimately conscious of this fellowship of the presence of God, and thereby to free themselves from a doubt and uncertainty which pressed on and tortured their minds. Since, then, St Peter, as we have seen, expounds the operation of the God who was present among them, in such a way as this assembly would generally admit to be undeniable, and applies it to the matter in debate, no one in the assembly was able to object anything to his exposition. On the other hand, he refers them to the testimony of their own consciences, and expresses this in so simple yet striking a mode that no one can venture to withdraw himself from the application of this testimony. As, namely, the testimony of God derived from this present operation, exhibits the true position of the believing Gentiles, so does this witness of their own consciences point out the true position of the believing Jews. And these two facts taken together establish such perfect equality among the believers both of the Jews and the Gentiles, that the Judaising requirement on the Gentiles must appear as a malignant interference with an equality so Divinely testified.

The Judaisers, however, as we saw, had at their command many arguments from history and prophecy, from Scripture and

from experience; but all these arguments, like a mist before the sun, disperse and vanish away before the bright ray of simple truth, delivering its testimony by the mouth of St Peter. However much these Judaisers might appear to be the champions and justifiers of God in regard to the past, and to be the helpers of and fellow-workers with God in reference to the future, they stand before God, as He revealed himself in His present operations, as men without love and without faith. However much they may appear to be those who, above all others, carried in them the true Israelitish consciousness, inasmuch as when the Apostles had left the Church at Antioch to itself, they did not rest until they had enjoined on the conscience of this Church the further condition still necessary for their full salvation; Peter has made it clear that in the midst of all their disquietude they could still hear the ever unchanging utterances of every Jewish concience declaring the inadequacy of all attempts to fulfill the law, and of the only salvation by the grace of Jesus. Thus, then, in all these vaunted proofs of divine truth, the living God was wanting, and from all their movement and excitement, the natural pulsation of real life was absent. It was, therefore, no wonder if the purest zealots were reduced to helpless silence by this victorious home-thrusting speech of St Peter.

How suitably, then, amidst the silence of the assembly, comes in the narrative of Barnabas and Saul (ver. 12). That testimony, which God had given in the house of Cornelius, had been explained to the assembly by St Peter, and laid to heart in all that significance, both for the present and the future, which at the very beginning had been surmised (see xi. 1). But the facts which formed the experience of Barnabas and Paul on their missionary travels were the commencement of that historical development to which that sign had pointed onwards. Their narrative must have made it certain, that this reception of the Gentiles in the house of Cornelius, without any intervening adoption of the Jewish system, was not intended merely to regulate individual and isolated events, but the whole collective series of historical results affecting the admission of the Gentiles. The fact that Barnabas and Paul should here appear in no other character than that of narrators, and not as teachers, becomes to us perfectly intelligible now. By his discourse, Peter had led

back the wandering thought of the synod, and had concentrated them on the two principal points on which the whole question depended. And one of these points was: what had God actually signified by the adoption of the Gentiles? Now, the bearing on the present question which this adoption involved had already been declared by Peter. Accordingly, its force must become still more decisive, if this testimony can be set forth by facts of still greater extent. Besides this, the delegates from Antioch have still a further reason for holding themselves as objectively as possible; and that is, the fear lest they might be looked upon as having allowed themselves to be influenced by prejudice in a matter so nearly concerning themselves. Now, since nothing more was required than a simple narration of the facts, we shall find it to be perfectly agreeable to circumstances, that St Paul should here place himself after Barnabas, who was well known in Jerusalem, and regarded as a prophet. If, then, the two Apostles narrate above all else the signs and miracles which God had operated among the Gentiles (ver. 12), Zeller would never have considered this so startling and so unlike what is Pauline (see ibid. S. 436), if he had only formed a right conception of the object of the narrative. In it, as much as in the speech of Barnabas, the object in view was, before all else, to exhibit the immediate reception of the Gentiles as taking place amid the manifest and actual signs of Divine approbation (see above on xiv. 8—10).

When, then, these statements had still further strengthened the impression left by the speech of St Peter, James stood up (ver. 13). This can be no other James than he who is mentioned in xii. 17, whom we have recognized as James the Just, the brother of the Lord, and who, as a man of special trust, remained behind in Jerusalem when the Apostles saw that they were themselves in duty bound to leave it. Now, the fact of James standing forward on the present occasion corresponds with the position which, according to our exposition of xii. 17, he then held. On that occasion the Church of the Gentile Christians in Antioch had of their temporal abundance, sent a gift to the Jewish Christian Church in Jerusalem; and in this offering and receiving the gifts of love, these two mother cities of the two halves of Christendom had recognized and felt each other to be the representatives

of the two essentially connected parts of one whole. At present, the Church of Antioch, in its spiritual need, sends to Jerusalem for help. What body was fitter to impart to it this desired help—the longed-for decisive information—than the Church of Jerusalem, which previously had been refreshed by the Church of Antioch? And who could venture to deem himself called upon to speak in the name of the Church of Jerusalem, so much as he, who, after the withdrawal of the Apostles, was appointed by the Apostles themselves to take their place in the Church there—even James. If, then, James concurs with Peter, and likewise expresses himself in opposition to the Pharisees, there was certainly something of self-renunciation in all this. Essentially, however, it was none other renunciation of self than what had formerly been exercised in Antioch; when, with the prospect of hard times before him, each one deprived himself of so much of what in outward possessions was his own as would enable him to offer to his brethren in Judea a sign of brotherly love. In the city of Zion, from which goes forth, not silver and gold, but Divine instruction (see Isai. ii. 3) he gives to the brethren of Antioch, who were seeking advice, a counsel of Divine instruction; but this also is done in self-denying love, since James, with his fellow-countrymen, renounces, and forbears to insist on the hope of seeing the destination and importance of Israel for the consummation of Christ's kingdom externally manifest itself. As the people of Antioch once deprived themselves of their temporal possessions for love of their brethren in Jerusalem, so we have here James stripping himself of his spiritual wealth for the love of the brethren among the Gentiles. It is only because people have no idea of the self-denying love which prevailed in this Church that they could ever come to maintain that in our narrative Paul and Barnabas on the one hand, and Peter and James on the other, have totally changed sides (see Zeller u. S. 437).

But now what James has to add to all that had already been said is twofold. First of all he shows that, with the account of Peter, Scripture also is in unison; and, in the second place, he makes a proposition by which he hopes to bring about the fitting union of the two parts of the Church. Foremost, he mentions the speech of St Peter. For, as Barnabas and Paul had done nothing more than continue in a purely objective manner his

communication of facts, St James very naturally goes back to the speech of St Peter, which had at once examined and decided the case. Moreover, the circumstance that he designates Peter on this occasion by his earlier and original name (see John i. 42, 43; Matt. xvi. 17; Luke xxii. 31), was intended perhaps to suggest the thought that Peter on this occasion was not to be regarded according to his Apostolical dignity and authority, but merely as one among the many. And, further, such a thought would have a foundation in the consciousness that all those who were assembled for the purpose of deliberating, stood in the presence of the only teacher and judge, and that, therefore, all alike were brothers and equals. In this circumstance, as also in the fact that one who was not an Apostle delivers what properly is the decisive result of the discussion—we see an external sign of the impropriety of the name so widely chosen for the present assembly—that, viz., of the Council of the Apostles.

By appealing to Scripture, it is evidently the wish of James to bring the discussion to an end. As Jesus had set the example to the Apostles of confirming and sealing by the evidence of Scripture any conviction they might have arrived at by oral teaching or subjective adoption (see Luke xxiv. 44—47), so we have seen the Apostles, from the very beginning, proceeding in the same way with their addresses (see i. 20). How salutary such an order in the use of Scripture must always be, we in no instance see more plainly than in the present, where, according to the opinion which generally prevails, it would have been a much more obvious course to begin with Scripture. To those theologians, especially, who invariably think of the truth of the Church in the form of a settled proposition, and not rather in the form of movement and development, it would perhaps appear that upon the rise of this Judaizing controversy, the proper method must be for them at once to set to work to gain a resolution of it from Scripture—supposing, that is (what cannot be called in question without contradicting the account in the Acts), that throughout this business one may give the Apostles credit for an anxious desire to arrive at the truth. But now, let a man only make the attempt to derive advice from the Old Testament on this Judaising controversy; and he will soon perceive that, if he had not found a settled starting-point in the present facts,

the declarations of prophecy, which here especially would come under consideration, decide far more in favour of the opinion of the Judaisers than of their opponents. For, in truth, the prophets throughout describe the conversion of the Gentiles in such a manner as to imply, that they must join themselves to Israel and adopt their sanctuary, their law, their ordinances, and their customs. And what else is this than the very thing which the Judaisers required? Indeed, it cannot be doubted that if, on the occasion of its first and most serious internal conflict, the Church had sought the truth by the way, which, in the present days so many theologians consider to be the only true method—if they had made the beginning with their proofs from Scripture, then the Judaising error would have been victorious over them. Is it then contained in the Scriptures of the Old Testament? Nothing less than that. It is found in the Scriptures only when perverted. The Scriptures, according to God's design, were not intended for *creating* the truth; but their true purpose is to furnish that warrant to the truth which is needful for it in order to its possessing perfect certainty in the Church. The truth becomes the property of a man only by the indwelling of Christ—the personal truth. A man, therefore, can acquire it and retain it by no other means than by renewing his communion with Christ as often as he is prompted thereto by an inward want. This is the way which the Assembly had pursued up to the time when James stood up and addressed it; and by the very fact that they had become conscious of their true relation to the Lord who was present and ruling amidst them, were they put into a position to derive from Holy Scripture that confirmation and warrant which impressed on their inwardly-acquired knowledge the seal of Divine objectivity (cf. Schleiermacher, der christliche Glaube ii. 352—357. Dorner, das Princip unserer Kirche. S. 60—67. Hofmann, Schriftbeweis i. 9).

It is the more necessary for us to take into our consideration this principle of the Apostles' method of using Scripture, the more that we have here to do with a demonstration from Scripture in which every attempt at an atomistic exposition and application of Scriptural passages can never lead to any available result. St James, for instance, appeals to a passage of Scripture which, apart from the inward consideration of the con-

viction to be gained from the facts before them, might much more readily have been adduced in support of the opinion of the Judaisers than of the exhortation of Peter. James, for instance, sees the most appropriate expression of the words, by which the prophets confirm the view of St Peter, in the passage of Amos ix. 11—12; and it is this very passage which, as Hengstenberg not improbably has conjectured (see Christolog. iii. 232), was the occasion of Hyrcanus adopting a wholly opposite procedure to that recommended by St Peter. It is, therefore, nothing strange if commentary, which, as we have seen, has been at but little trouble to appreciate duly the significance of the fact before us, and of the position maintained by St Peter throughout the meeting, has met with no slight difficulty in this passage. Not only has Meyer given it as his explanation, that the Alexandrian version, which materially differs from the Hebrew text, alone falls in with the tendency of St James' remarks (an explanation which asserts this much, at least, that the Divine authority, as they think it, by which St James, and after him the whole assembly, are induced to come to a decision, does not rest on the words of a prophet, but rather on the mistake of a translator); but even Olshausen says: "one does not see how the quotation bears upon the controversy in question," and in order to help this perfect blindness of exegesis on the point he has nothing to offer but a loosely thrown out conjecture. It is true that both Hengstenberg (see Christolog. iii. 227—336) and Hofmann (see Weissagung u. Erläut. ii. 219, 220) each in his own way rejects this pretended inapplicability of the prophetic passage adduced by St James. But neither by the one nor by the other is it made clear how James could have found in this passage not merely nothing contradictory to the Gospel liberty of the Gentiles, but have even pointed to it as a confirmation, scripturally conclusive, of the view advanced by St Peter.

Since the prophetic passage contains different arguments, the question is, to which of them did James especially direct his attention? It must be considered an advantage that, upon this point, he has himself given us a distinct hint, which, however, has been overlooked by the commentators. St James, that is to say, joins immediately to the quotation from the prophet a few words of his own in reference to the passage itself. Now it is

implied in the nature of the case, that it is in these words that we are to recognise the leading thought which he is anxious to establish by the passage he quotes. Moreover, even in the shortest form, which Tischendorf has adopted as the true one, the sense is not doubtful. According to this reading James adds to the prophetic passage ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα nothing more than the three words γνωστὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνος. We see from this that the Apostolical speaker wishes it to be understood, that the chief weight of his demonstration lies in the prophetic declaration that "the Lord will do this." The only difference between the longer readings and the shorter is merely this, that the former bring forward the same thought from the same point of view a little more distinctly. It is accordingly manifest, that in what is said about the Gentiles the Divine causality is intended to be regarded as the principal point. The prominence given to this point of view is perfectly justified by the prophetical passage. For primarily, no doubt, it is only the building of the tabernacle of David that is ascribed to the work of the Lord; but since the extension of the reign of David in Israel over the Gentiles is set forth as a design inherent in that Divine operation; therefore, simply on that account, even that which had been effected among the Gentiles is to be ascribed to the same causation. But that the prophet himself wished to have this thought set forth precisely in the manner that James has urged it, is clear from what he says in the closing words: נְאֻם יְהוָה עֹשֶׂה זֹאת. But now if the leading idea of the prophet (and if this thought is specially the one with which James is concerned) is, that Jehovah will not build again the fallen tabernacle of David without at the same time directing his attention to the position due to the Gentiles, and that therefore he will call forth this position of the Gentiles concurrently with the accomplishment of this work; then it is clear that the deviation of the Alexandrian version from the Hebrew text is not of that weight which Meyer and Olshausen are disposed to assign to it. It is true, we cannot say with Hengstenberg (see ibid. 230, 231), that between the future reign of David and Israel over Edom and all the Gentiles which is here alluded to, and the past historical one, there is no similarity, on the ground that the words, אֲשֶׁר נִקְרָא שְׁמִי עֲלֵיהֶם imply a relation of internal connection. For, how-

ever the case may stand with the last noticed words; still, at all events, that which precedes, and the whole proposition יִירְשׁוּ must have justice done to it. And in it a reigning over the Gentiles is, at any rate, spoken of similar to that which is prefigured in the history of David—a reign, no doubt, which is the very contrary of a secular empire—but an empire nevertheless—an empire for the emancipation and animating of the fettered faculties, and not an empire for the shackling and killing of those that were free and sound. That this relation on the part of the Gentiles must have an internal moral and religious ground, is very properly insisted upon by Hengstenberg; only the prophet looks quite away from this internal ground while he tacitly takes it for granted. Now the essential variation of the Alexandrian version is this, that of its own hand it adds this inner ground of character and sentiments, which, by the prophet, is implied; and contrariwise, it leaves totally untouched that outward expression and incorporation of this principle, with which the prophet is chiefly concerned. No doubt, in its proper and original shape the prophetical passage referred to a state of the Gentiles such as has not yet been realised, but which, in its hidden principle was merely prepared and introduced by the facts adduced. Since, then, as we have seen, James was only concerned to prove from Scripture the fact of this extension of the operations of the grace of God from the tabernacle of David to the Gentiles; he might, in any case, very well quote this passage in its proper shape. However, the form in which it is here historically confirmed might have left an unfavourable impression on such minds as had not been enlightened and settled by the report of the proceedings of Peter, Barnabas, and Saul. It was, therefore, an uncommonly favourable coincidence, that the form in the popular version, though irrelevant for the present object, was yet such as more accurately corresponded to the state of things before them; and consequently, under the existing circumstances facilitated the right understanding of the prophetic passage.

But why did James add to the declaration of the prophet the words γνωστὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνος? Evidently it was not his intention thereby to indicate merely the possibility of prophecy (a matter with which, in the present case, he was not concerned), but rather to point out—(which was rendered possible, and indeed neces-

sary, by such forseeing from all eternity, and what in such predictions was both proved and exhibited)—the order, consistency, and certainty, of all the Divine doings, and therefore also of that work which then lay before them for their consideration. It is under this perception that the facts considered by Peter, Barnabas, and Paul, first attain to their full demonstrative force. We must for instance constantly keep the fact vividly before our minds, that this assembly had to decide upon the true state of the Church for thousands of years. Now, important facts had no doubt been urged, from which God's judgment as to the shape of the Church (which formed the subject of debate) admitted of being inferred with certainty. But, still, before the assembly could, on the ground of these facts, give its final decision, it must feel certain that these facts did not perhaps hold a merely subordinate position, and an inferior importance, and that therefore they were not calculated to serve as the basis of so weighty a decision as was here to be made; but that they really possessed all the gravity which Peter, influenced by the immediate impression, ascribed to them. It is true, the same immediate impression that Peter had received from them had been testified to by the consciences also of the assembly; but it was perfectly obvious that, if possible, it would be highly desirable that it should also receive another attestation. Such another testimony then is adduced by St James from a declaration of prophecy in which the other prophetical passages relating to this subject are, as it were, summed up. According to these words, the enlargement of the operation of God's grace on the house of David, and on the people of Israel unto the Gentiles, is not—(as perhaps might be supposed)—an accident, or a trifle, but rather God's designed work, of which He was conscious from the very first, and which He had in time predicted, in order that it might be felt and acknowledged in its true dignity and importance. Hereby it becomes once more certain that the assembly was not more justified than bound in duty to look upon the first proceedings in this extension of the Divine grace unto the Gentile world as works of God; and to consider and to weigh all the circumstances which occurred in connection therewith, with all that conscientiousness and fidelity that the Church of God ought to bestow on a work which, in the eternal counsels of God, and

in His holy Word, is immediately connected with the highest and most intimate workings of grace. The bringing forward, therefore, of the prophetic passage serves to lead back the attention of the assembly to these facts, and to enable it to discern in them, still more clearly than before, the justification which Peter had so decisively gathered from them.

Since, then, by this testimony of Scripture, which coincides with the testimony of the deciding facts, the highest possible degree of certainty was attained, St James then goes on to declare his final conviction. It was to this purport, that while the Gentiles are to be allowed the most perfect freedom of internal development, certain necessary observances must be enjoined on them. But before all things, it is necessary that we make it clear and certain to our minds that James (and consequently the whole assembly) was perfectly in earnest with this recognition of liberty for the Gentile Christians. For commonly the matter is so represented as if James had proposed a compromise, and the assembly had (as, indeed, is so often done) adopted his proposition under a feeling that it was allowable in the existing dispute for something to be given up on both sides. According to this view, then, on the part of the Pharisees, the necessity of circumcision, and the complete fulfilment of the law was abandoned; while contrariwise on the Pauline side, they gave up all hope of unconditional liberty, and adopted the obligation to certain ordinances of the law (see Neander Geschichte d. Pflanz. 1. 159, 163; Baur, Apostel Paulus. S. 131, 132). Now, if we once understand the decision of James, and the decree of the Assembly, in the light of such an external compromise, then we must give in our adherence to the view of Ritschl, that there is no agreement between the discussion and the decree; and, therefore, that the decree cannot have been the result of the deliberations (see Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche S. 120). However, such a view of an external compromise between the two parties of the dispute is superficial, and absolutely does not agree with what took place. James has no intention of recalling anything of all that Peter had advanced with regard to the Gentile Churches. How else could he have expressed such complete agreement with him? When he says "wherefore my sentence is" (διὰ ἐγὼ κρίνω) "that we trouble not them which, from among the Gentiles, are

turned unto God." Surely that is both a full recognition of the opinion advanced by St Peter, and also an unconditional condemnation of the Judaizing doctrine. Whereas in the previous propositions he had described the state of the believing Gentiles as a work of God, which not only had its voucher as such in itself, but was also attested by Scripture; he now speaks of the condition of these Gentiles as a real conversion to God. Accordingly he asserts that a communion between God and the believing Gentiles had already commenced, and was constantly enlarging itself; and since therein all is asserted which generally is requisite for the salvation of men, and since, at the same time, the domain of the Gentile Christians is set forth as an inviolable sanctuary, in which God and man meet together: his sentence really came to this that nothing ought to be done that was likely to create any difficulty or have a disturbing or hindering effect on the work. But now the doctrine of the Judaizers was nothing else than this; no communion with God has as yet been arrived at by the believing Gentiles. For thus only could they teach: if you will not submit to be circumcised according to the law of Moses, you cannot be saved (xv. 1.) It was in this way only that when the question with regard to the Gentile Christians had once arisen, they could, without further discussion or adducing of proof, maintain the necessity of circumcision and of the fulfilment of the whole law (ver. 5). Now we ought not to overlook the fact, that of this principle of Judaizing doctrine not the slightest trace is to be found in the declaration of St James. And the same may distinctly be shown in like manner of the decree which was based on his sentence. Since in the letter, which in consequence of the conclusion they had come to, was sent to the Gentile Christians, the Apostles, and elders, and brethren greet them as brethren (ver. 23), they, by such greeting, partially acknowledge that from the beginning they possessed an essential unity and equality with themselves; and therewith declare that all besides ought to be looked upon as resting simply on this basis of brotherly communion. But they do not content themselves merely with this positive opposition to the Judaising doctrine. In very sharp and decided terms do they express their condemnation of the conduct of the Judaizers in Antioch; for they plainly deny that any such requirements on the Gentile Christians had been made by their command (ver. 24).

And in perfect agreement with this letter is all that is related of Judas and Silas, who were deputed by the assembly to go to Antioch. Since these persons also, it is said, were themselves prophets, and consequently had the gift of the persuasive word, they therefore, exhorted the brethren with many words and confirmed them (ver. 32). Evidently this deputation from the assembly was intended by its labours to do away with the ill effects of the disturbance and the unsettledness of mind occasioned by the Judaizers. And in this they entirely succeeded; for they were let go again in peace from the brethren unto the Apostles (ver. 33). But still more clearly do we to learn what it was that constituted the chief point in the decree, from the short remark contained in ver. 30, "When the people of Antioch had read the letter they rejoiced for the consolation." On this Luther very correctly remarks: On what account did they rejoice for the consolation? Was it because James had enjoined on them not to eat blood? No! that was not the principal matter; but it was that they had set the disciples free; this had Paul stoutly urged and insisted on, and had also obtained. This it was that rejoiced them (see Werke viii. 1042).

But now, if it is this opposition to the Judaizing error, thus negatively and positively asserted and made public, that forms the principal element in the declaration of James, and the decree of the assembly, then there is no room for any supposition of a contradiction between the sentence itself and the deliberations of the assembly. On the contrary, in accordance with every principle of interpretation, it is from this point of view that all else in the address of James and in the sentence of the synod must be understood and explained.

James, then, and at his suggestion, the whole assembly, held it good to make certain regulations which the Gentile Christians should follow. But we must by no means so interpret this determination as if the assembly wished it to be understood that these regulations were enjoined on them in the same manner as the Judaizers would have the whole law enjoined; so that the difference would consist merely in this, that whereas the Judaizers would have the Gentile Christians to be obliged to fulfil the whole law, the Apostles had contented themselves with enforcing the observance of a small selection of these legal injunctions

Such a view would imply nothing less than the recall of their undisguised acknowledgment of the Gentile Christians; and simply on that account it is altogether untenable. An appeal has been made to the supposed fact, that these special obligations are set forth in the light of a necessary duty, because in ver. 20 no further notice for their observance is given, and in ver. 28 they are expressly described as indispensable (see Zeller ibid S. 437). But it must not be forgotten that there is a necessity which does not accrue to a man from without so much as it is inwardly recognised and adopted by him. It was by such a necessity as this that Jude felt himself compelled to write his Epistle. Might not then this assembly of Apostles, elders, and brethren in Jerusalem, venture to look upon themselves as qualified to discern and to determine what, according to their whole position, must appear to be necessary and indispensable to the Gentile brethren who, in perfect confidence, had turned to it for advice? That the assembly proceeds on the assumption of the free concurrence of the Gentile brethren, we see also from what is added in ver. 29, "from which, if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well," which, as Meyer justly remarks, is very different from the position maintained by the Judaizers (ver. 1). Now, alongside of this, we must ever keep steadily in view the fact that by the recognition of these Gentile brethren, and by the rejection of the Judaizers, this point first of all was settled that the former were not bound by the law, but that in their whole conduct they were to direct and guide themselves exclusively by the grace of Jesus Christ. Thereby a liberty was established, such as had never before been seen in the world and such as can never again occur. The believers among the Gentiles must feel themselves repelled from the heathen by their prevailing and all-pervading sinfulness; and as regards the Jews, they too, as we have already seen, reject them with passionate animosity. Thus these Christians were consequently made everywhere to rely upon themselves; there was no education, no prescriptive habit, no political institution, in short, no objective moral influence around which their liberty could develope and perfect itself. Moreover, as yet these infant Churches of the Gentiles possessed no large view of their general problem and of their position in the world; therefore they could only, on each occasion, satisfy their momentary requirements. The as-

sembly of the representatives of the Church in Jerusalem was, however, so situated that it could lean with a full conviction on an historical past, could see that it had a foundation in a present order, and lastly, it possessed a knowledge of the course of the development of the Church. If, with a becoming dignity, this assembly communicates a few precepts to their Gentile brethren whom, however, they first of all recognise as their equals, and confirm in their liberty—if to these brethren, for whom all ties of law and order were loosened, they impart a few precepts based upon the general position and situation of the Gentile Christians in the world, they do nothing but what is allowable within the limits not merely of their authority, but also of their duty; and they might, on that ground, with a good confidence take for granted the concurrence of their Gentile brethren.

But now the injunctions thus given ran in the form of prohibitions (see vv. 20. 28; xxi. 25). And this again furnishes a proof that all had gone on, on the supposition of the liberty of the Gentiles. For the object of these precepts is evidently to indicate the limits within which the Christian liberty of the Gentiles ought to restrain itself. Now, of the objects from which they ought to abstain, four are mentioned: the worship of idols, fornication, things strangled, and blood (vv. 20, 28; xxi. 25). What was meant by these pollutions of idols is soon manifest. It had of old been a custom with the heathen to give away, and to sell portions of the flesh of the animals offered in sacrifice, so that this use of the idolatrous oblations formed in the sight of Jehovah the very opposite of the feasts after the sacrifices of Israel (see Schottgen 3. d. St, S. 462. 465). Consequently, as the partaking of the sacrificial feasts in Israel was regarded as a sign of communion with Jehovah (see Exod. xxix. 28), so to share in the former must appear to be a fellowship with idols. Accordingly, these sacrifices to idols are designated as pollutions (*ἀλισγήματα*), and in every passage where this sentence of the assembly occurs, are represented as that which was most to be abominated. With regard to *πορνεία*, much perplexity has been felt, and it has also given rise to much controversy. But in my judgment the opinion advanced by Meyer is quite decisive. He maintains that, inasmuch as in the decree itself ver. 29 (cf. 21, and 25) exactly the same expres-

sion is used, there is absolutely nothing whatever to justify the taking this word in any other than its generally admitted signification. The reason why a wish has been felt to escape by all means from this so simple interpretation of the term, will, upon a juster consideration of the passage before us, be found to be wholly untenable. An astonishment was felt to find among these injunctions which refer to what are usually designated "indifferent" matters, a purely ethical one. But it is not with indifferent matters that this passage is concerned, but with what are essentially moral obligations, though, indeed, they here appear individualized. Fornication, according to the Scripture, is the characteristic immorality of Heathendom. How otherwise comes it that Holy Writ (see Exod. xxxiv. 17), without further explanation, so frequently and so consciously speaks of idolatry as fornication? To leave God, the Holy One, who dwelleth in the Light, has, according to Scripture, for its necessary consequence the pollution of the soul, which manifests itself in the giving over of the body to impurity (cf. Rom. i. 21—28). For this reason it is against this sin that St Paul usually warns the believers from among the Gentiles first of all, and before all others (see 1 Cor. vii. 2; Eph. v. 3; 1 Thes. iv. 3; Col. iii. 5). And that such a view was perfectly agreeable to the truth, is proved by a glance at the enlightened, no less than at the unenlightened heathens. As concerns the Greeks and Romans, it is enough to consult the notes of Grotius and Schöttgen on the passage before us; and in order to realize and bring it home to our minds, let us only weigh the following assertion of Cicero made in a public assembly, which Grotius adduces: quando enim hoc factum non est? quando reprehensum? quando non licitum? And as for the total absence of chastity and purity among the lowest classes of the heathen, we may consult the citations of Wuttke in his Geschichte des Heidenthum (i. 177—184). But now, the fact that the Gentile Christians are warned against fornication, is so far from implying that they would not be actuated by the indwelling spirit to live chastely, as the prohibition of sacrifice to idols is from making us believe, that the Gentiles, who had turned from their dead idols unto the living God, would not of themselves have felt a distaste and a horror for all contact with their former

godlessness. However, the assembly at Jerusalem is anxious to strengthen and to confirm these moral beginnings and emotions already existing.

As distinctly as the first two prohibitions point to heathendom, no less distinctly does an allusion to Judaism stand out in the last two. The eating of blood is prohibited to the Gentiles, whether it be in its pure state, or blood in its flesh, *i.e.*, things strangled. One of the very oldest of the legal regulations in the sacred history is that by which man is forbidden to eat blood (see Gen. ix. 4); and this primitive injunction is subsequently enjoined on the people of Israel with the greater rigour the more distinctly the reason for it is set forth (see Levit. iii. 17; vii. 26; xvii. 10; xix. 26). For the blood is, we are told, withdrawn from the use of man on account of its being destined to make expiation on the altar for the soul of man (see Levit. xvii. 11). On this account, therefore, the blood ought to be most inviolable in man's regard, because it is designed for the most sacred of services; consequently the abstinence from the eating of blood is founded on a reverence for the sacrificial worship of the Israelites—that central point of all the Israelitish ordinances (see Heb. vii. 12). It is no doubt true that with the heathen also blood was properly the medium of expiation (see Bähr's Symbolik des Mosaischen cultus ii. 223, 225, 237, 246, 247). But since in heathendom the limits between the holy and the unholy were not over strictly observed, it can excite no surprise if we do not meet in heathendom with this holy horror of blood, which, by the precepts of God, the sacred sacrificial service had impressed so indelibly on the minds of the people of Israel (see Bähr ibid. ii. 240; Schöttgen in loc. S. 465—468). In this reference of the blood to the sacrifice, I also discern the reason why, in ver. 28, and xxi. 25 the *πορνεία* is separated from the *εἰδωλόθυτα*, and the things offered to idols are placed alongside of blood and things strangled.

As the first two precepts were designed to quicken the horror of the Gentile brethren of all that was essential to heathendom, so the following two had for their object to awaken a respect for the Divine ordinances of Israel. Heathendom was set before them as the source of a growing perversity and corruption; while Judaism was exhibited in the light of a long, and likewise growing shape of Divine order. And, by these regulations, those who had been

left to the guidance of their own liberty, had the limits set them within which they must commence, and hold on in their career of liberty. But now there comes a circumstance to be added, from which these precepts acquire a somewhat more concrete character, and by its means gain even for the Gentiles a greater degree of distinctness and applicability. These precepts, for instance, remind us of those seven injunctions, which, according to Jewish tradition, were laid upon the proselytes of the gate (see Buxtorf Lexic. Talmud. p. 409). By such requirements, therefore, it was intimated to them that they were to regard themselves as brought into a closer relation to, and a nearer communion with, the Jewish people; and therefore in this free adoption of and annexation to the people of Israel, they ought to recognize the general rule by which they had to develope, and to fashion their own liberty.

The very correspondence between the regulations proposed by St James, and the laws which were to be followed by the proselytes of the gate, has of itself suggested the thought, that in the determination and limitation of their liberty, the believing Gentiles ought to pay a regard to the people of God. And this is still more distinctly asserted by the inferential paragraph of St James's speech which he introduces with a γὰρ. And yet this inferential passage has been made the subject of interpretations the most opposite and the most contradictory. The exposition of it which at present gains widest currency is that recommended by Olshausen, Winer and de Wette; that, viz., it was necessary that such respect for the Jews should be enjoined on the Gentile Christians, inasmuch as, in every city, the Mosaic law was already well known, and, consequently, in the absence of such respect, the Jews, whether they were believers in Jesus or unbelievers, were likely to take offence (which in any case was little desirable) at the life of the Gentile Christians. However there is good ground for what Neander (see above) has insisted on in opposition to this explanation. There needed, he argues, no reasons to be adduced to explain why so much, but rather why no more was enjoined on the Gentile Christians, considering that the referring the Gentile Christians to the reading and preaching of Moses on the Sabbath days was calculated to lead them to the doctrine of the Judaizers rather than to that of

Peter. But we, indeed, find it impossible also to adopt Neander's explanation. For he refers this allegation to the Jewish Christians, and sees in it a thought of this kind: "As for the Jewish Christians there is no need that any such precepts should be given to them, for from the public reading and preaching of Moses they know what they ought to do." Now, although it is quite correct that these regulations have no reference to the believers from among the Jews (as James expressly declares in another passage, see xxi. 25), still what Meyer urges against this explanation is valid: it was impossible to enter upon such thoughts and to introduce them as a motive by a γὰρ. In my judgment the explanation of Erasmus comes nearest to the truth, and he thus paraphrases the passage: nec est metuendum ne Moses antiquetur; habet enim ille &c. And this interpretation has also in recent times been approved of by Schneckenburger (see Zweck der Apostelgesch. S. 23) and by Zeller (ibid. S. 437). It was of very great moment with James, (and he might very well assume also with most of those present at the assembly) that care would be taken that the writings and law of Moses should not decay and perish from the memory of men. It is at once intelligible that the Judaisers found it any thing but their weakest point to maintain, that if the Gentile Christians were exempted from circumcision and the law, Moses in a short time would be forgotten, and, as it were, buried. Now St James expresses his own conviction, that the maintenance of the law among the traditions of men did not depend primarily on any thing that the believers from among the Gentiles might do or leave undone, but it rested on the universal diffusion of the Jews in all the cities of the Roman Empire (see Gieseler's Ecclesiastical History, vol. i., p. 41; For. Theol. lib. vol. 4) and the custom everywhere established of reading and explaining the law in the synagogues (see on xiii. 15). But then if James ascribes an importance to the preservation and the traditional maintenance of the law, how could he rest satisfied with the reading and preaching of it in the synagogues? For, with respect to this reading, St Paul says, "that their minds were blinded; for until this day remaineth the veil of Moses in the reading of the Old Testament, and is not taken away; for in Christ it is done away; but even unto this day when Moses is read, the veil is upon their heart" (2 Cor. iii. 14, 15).

But on this point two things need to be considered. In the first place, this declaration of the Apostle belongs to a time when the sentence of hardening which had passed upon Israel had proceeded farther on the road of its execution than it had at the time of the assembly at Jerusalem; and in the second there is also a difference between Paul and James in this matter. Whereas St Paul had rather for his object to distinguish between the believers and the unbelievers in Israel; it was St James's vocation to maintain in both the unity of their national origin and of their divine destination; as in his epistle to the twelve tribes of the dispersion we have a remarkable instance of this comprehension of the opposite elements of Israel. Consequently, if James speaks of the public reading and preaching in the synagogues, he naturally is thinking not only of those Jews who rejected the faith in Jesus, but he has also in his mind the many who had not as yet come to any decision, simply because the Gospel had not as yet been preached to them, and also the few who, while scattered among the Gentiles, had already come to the faith, and who, like the believers in Jerusalem, still kept up their connection with the synagogues. In this way the synagogues, which, from Jerusalem had been scattered throughout every city of the empire, might well (in so far as a small portion of their members were already believers, and a still larger portion were yet to be called to the faith) pass with him as worthy instruments for transmitting and preserving of the everlasting law of Moses; and he might venture to point to these cities of the world as so many sanctuaries where Moses was preached.

But as yet we have not seen how it was possible for St James to make these thoughts furnish a valid justification of his proposition with regard to the Gentile Christians. For essentially it came to this, that the Gentile Christians must as decidedly abandon the impurities of heathendom, as they must devote themselves heartily to the holiness of the ordinances of Israel. And in truth, they must do this in such wise, that all hindrances to communion and fellowship between the Jews and themselves might be removed. Now, what he here asserts is first of all an attestation that the ordinances of Israel are permanent and eternal; it retains its living preachers and representatives. And therewith allusion is at the sametime made to that body of men, within whose society the Gentile Chris-

tians are to discern the Divine and abiding institutions of life; and consequently they must feel it to be a duty incumbent on them not to reject this body, but, on the contrary, to get rid of and to renounce whatever in themselves was at any time likely to alienate the Jews from communion with them. We see, therefore, that the proposal of St James has a far wider significance than is usually ascribed to it. Undoubtedly, this proposition would always be invested with much importance, even if it had done no more than simply help the very first primordia of the Church successfully to pass through the first and most grave crisis in which it was then involved. Even this consideration is sufficient to defend him against the reproach which Luther has thrown upon him of having wavered a little here (see ibid. S. 1033, 1042). At all events, by his proposition, James pointed out an expedient by which the liberty and the independence of the Gentile community might be established in its perfect integrity, and yet, at the same time, a development be introduced which might render it possible for the liberty of the Christian Gentiles to hold communion with the Jewish Christians in their obligation to observe ordinances. Even admitting that this proposition did not go beyond this first introductory influence, it was nevertheless a work of peace, such as has never had its parallel in the whole course of the history of the Church. But in fact, his thoughts do reach far beyond the immediate present. Because people will understand these thoughts only in their immediate reference to the circumstances of that time, under which their external influence quickly vanishes out of the Church; the inference has been drawn by them, that absolutely they possessed nothing more than a merely local and temporary significance. But here it has been left out of consideration, that in a domain like this, on which the primordial events of the Church are taking place, everything that entirely and fully affects the present, must at the same time possess a decisive influence on the future, even because that future is essentially the evolution of this present.

However, the proposition of St James did in fact look far beyond the immediate need of the preservation of peace and the preparing a way for the calm development of the Church. This is proved by the farther course of history down even to our own days. With what deeply penetrating and foreseeing wisdom it

points to the two phases under which the corruption of heathendom manifests itself, we may even see from the sharp denunciations contained in the Apocalyptic Epistle to the Churches of Thyatira and Perga (see Rev. ii. 14, 20, 21). And as we here see the corruption of the Gentile Christian Churches develope itself in the very earliest times precisely in the points which are referred to in the proposition of St James; so, on the other side, we perceive that not only do the Jewish-Christian Clementines adhere to these propositions of St James (see Ritschl, die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche, S. 118, 119), but also in the very midst of the Church of the Gentiles, as long as heathenism and Judaism made themselves to be felt as the two world-ruling influences, and the Church had nothing else to oppose to them than the demonstration of the Spirit and of power, the fathers of the Church describe the observance of the precepts here enjoined as a general custom with Christians. Of an ordinance, however, and a custom which proved wholesome and highly serviceable to the Church during the centuries of her struggle for existence with the powers of this world, we cannot in any wise think lightly. It is, however, a perfectly false representation to make the application of these principles to be limited by the triumph of the Church over the imperial power of Rome, and by the coming on of the utter opposition of the Church and the synagogue. It is true that long ago St Augustin even gave occasion to this view. In more than one passage he speaks of these matters (see Calov adv. 20); among others, contra Faustum 32, 13 he writes: transacto illo tempore, quo illi duo parietes, unus ex circumcisione, alter ex præputio venientes, quamvis in angulari lapide concordarent, tamen suis quibusdam proprietatibus distinctius eminebant, et ubi ecclesia gentium talis facta est, ut in ea nullus Israelita carnalis appareat, quis jam hoc Christianus observat, ut turdos vel minutiores aviculas non attingat nisi quarum sanguis effusus est? aut leporem non edat, si manu a cervice percussus nullo cruento vulnere occisus est? et qui forte pauci adhuc tangere ista formidant, a ceteris irridentur. This passage is so far of importance, as it shews to us that in the course of time a conviction grew up in the Church, that it was a Church of the Gentiles among whom the believers from among the Jews were but a vanishing quantity; and that now the synagogue, as having taken up a

position of total hostility to the Church, could make no claims of any sort for compliance with its views on the part of the Christians. And from hence we are furnished with a clear and distinct answer to the question of Zeller: What change in circumstances took place in the later years of the Apostolic age (see ibid S. 449)? For evidently the development of the Church unto the point which Augustine indicates by the expression "ecclesia gentium," began from the death of Stephen, and was accelerated by the decree of the Apostolical council; and the character of this development was such that the Jewish Christians became continually more and more sectarian, and the Gentiles, in the same proportion, made up and represented more entirely the Catholic Church. When then the strength of heathendom was broken, and Judaism had exhibited its decided opposition to Christianity, it was quite consistent if the proposition of James could not any longer maintain its validity in the same shape that it had at its first publication under totally different circumstances. But we have seen that a general principle also lay at the bottom of this proposal of James—a view which Grotius likewise has maintained: "neque vero Christiani veteres hoc præceptum accepere tanquam datum ex unâ causâ ut Judæorum offensio vitaretur." The general and the fundamental thought, however, which in the case here brought before us, assumes a special form, remained, nevertheless, still in force when that special case had passed away. As to that general truth which lay at the bottom of the recommendation of James, it is the conviction that in heathenism there is involved a principle of corruption, in the same way that in Judaism a principle is contained of Divine order. As then, on the foundation of the acknowledged freedom and independence of the Gentile Churches, this conviction attained originally to a manifestation under a form precisely accommodated to the circumstances of the times; so, likewise, as soon as another and very opposite state of things was brought about, on the same basis, indeed, of freedom and independence, it established itself in a form which, though different, was still appropriate to existing relations.

Let us only contemplate the vastness of the change which must have been effected in the minds of men by the revolution we have alluded to above. Whereas, during the period of its struggle with the kingdoms of the world, the Church saw in the

State only an alien and a hostile power, so that Tertullian could well say, nulla nobis res magis aliena est quam publica, to Augustin it appears so friendly that he even ventures to defend its authority against the Donatists. Whereas, in the time of this struggle, the Church directed all the hopes of its community to that future season, in which, after destroying the powers of this world, Christ, with His saints, was to reign on earth; the Bishop of Hippo tells us that the thousand years' reign had already commenced.[1] Was then this totally changed view of the world brought about exclusively by the revolution of external things, or did an internal motive also co-operate in producing it? Since the outward change in the state of the Church did not by any means take place without doubtful and alarming signs for the purity of the Church; and since several of its most eminent teachers both deeply felt and gave utterance to this alarm, I consider it to be impossible to account for the change merely by external events, and I see the co-operating, and essentially the determining, cause in that combination of the polity of imperial Rome with the Divine polity of the people of Israel, which was gradually accomplished in the view of the Church—in a word, in the adherence to the Divine principle of the Israelitish polity which, in the beginning, was enjoined as a duty on the Gentile Christians by St James. When Constantine had the temple of Æsculapius pulled down, and ultimately forbad all the citizens of the Roman Empire, and especially all those who held any official situation, to erect idolatrous images, or to do sacrifice to them; and when his successors continued to advance along the same course, in such wise as that it became a possible thing that the first book of the Roman *Codex* should be entitled: de summa trinitate and de fide catholicâ, et ut nemo de eâ publice contendere audeat, then the Church gradually adopted more entirely the notion that the Roman emperor had taken the place of the Israelitish king; and it was natural that thereupon this notion should react in its turn on the shape of the public ordinances and institutions. And in the same way this imitation of the Israelitish polity was also carried on in the ecclesiastical domain. With ever-growing definiteness and precision were the leaders and teachers of the Christian communities compared to the priests of the Old Testament; and the whole spiritual order

gradually assumed exactly the same separate and select position as had been appointed to Levi in Israel. And hereupon it could not fail, but that the clergy, like the Levitical tribe, must have its High Priestly head as well as the central seat of its worship of God. And at last a hierarchial polity was established which encircled the whole of life, both in its public and its special relations, as tightly and as closely as the law of Moses had ever done of old. The glorious and ever memorable results and triumphs which by her vast efforts the Church won over the world, bending it and moulding it in the way which has been pointed out, she owed to the truth and wisdom of the grand thought to which the presbyter of Jerusalem had given utterance in the council of the Apostles: that, viz., the Gentile Christians must regulate their liberty and independence by keeping constantly in view the eternal foundation of the divine polity in Israel. That, however, this adoption of the Old Testament economy in the configuration of the State and the Church under the New, was gradually perverted into still deepening corruption, cannot justly be imputed to St James. For this corruption crept on mainly by this means, that that foundation which was expressed, involved and implied by St James, was gradually more and more hidden and overlaid, by those Jewish externals which were constantly brought in. The great service of the Reformation was essentially this, that by means of the Pauline doctrine it helped to restore to a full and decided authority this foundation of the acknowledgment of the freedom and independence of the Gentile Christians. By this means the reformation did undoubtedly rescue and preserve the individual liberty of the Gentile Christians, but it neither created nor established the means, which might counteract the deeply-rooted tendency of this development so fatal to liberty. For unquestionably in this Jewish direction of the Church there is a something contained, which James evidently did not intend, but which, on the contrary, he clearly enough wished to guard against. For in this appropriation by the Church of the ordinances of the Old Testament, we find a something beyond what James declared to be necessary. And that is the conviction and the acknowledgment, that in the people of Israel and in its law, a principle of Divine polity was propounded which called for consideration and adaptation on the part of the Gentile Christians by a neces-

sary but still independent act of appropriation. For the delusion crept in, that the Church of Christ was nothing else than a continuation and enlargement of the Old Testament economy. So that according to this notion the Holy Empire had but assumed the place of the kingdom of Israel; and the emperor of this kingdom fancied himself to be seated on the throne of David; just as the clergy allowed themselves to imagine that they had received the privileges of the tribe of Levi in all lands. Now, just as this was an assumption on the part of the Gentile Church; so it could not take place without a material wrong being done to the people of Israel. How was it possible to retain one look of regard for the absolutely unparalleled origin, guidance, and blessing of the people of God, if each Gentile nation, as soon as it was comprised within the hierarchical polity, should think itself good and able enough to take, as a people, the place of Israel who was not created by the Elohim, but begotten of Jehovah? How, in this its usurpation, was it likely that the Church of the Gentiles would be able duly to judge of the present condition of Israel placed for a while under the wrath of God, if she looked upon herself as the only legal inheritor of all the promises made to the people of God? Under such view, however, it becomes conceivable how it could ever be that the Crusades—those fruits of the highest and widest-spread enthusiasm that this mode of thinking among the Gentile Christians ever rose to—which had for their object to drive the heathen out of the Holy Land, and to take possession of the inheritance promised to the people of God, usually began with the most bloody and cruel persecution of the Jews. And lastly, that with such a way of thinking and acting there would be no room left in the system of the Gentile Church even for the hope and future of Israel, is perfectly self-evident.

This adherence to the ordinances of the Old Testament (or rather the obliteration alike of what is characteristic of the Old, and what is distinctive of the New Testament, of what belonged to Israel and what pertained to the Gentiles), has manifestly been perverted into the direct contrary of that which was meant and designed by James. If he designated it as an intrinsic and Divine necessity of the Church, that Moses should continue to be preached and read throughout the world; he still guarded alike against every generalisation and against every obliteration of that

vocation, which, from the very beginning, had been assigned exclusively to Israel in virtue of the everlasting Scriptures of Moses. And if he insisted on a regard being had to the existing Israel, even though its more numerous and more distinguished portion had already turned away from Jesus; he delivered thereby a strong testimony against the harshness and injustice which the Church has allowed herself to indulge in against the Jews, in order afterwards to make compensation for such intolerance in the most imperfect and scanty manner by her missions, and by emancipation. If, lastly, James intimates that the times brought in by the New Testament are the times for the building again of the fallen temple of David; he thereby pronounces every exercise of sovereignty over Israel by any other than the son of David to be an usurpation, and he points to the future of Israel for the manifestation of that kingdom of David whose foundations are being laid in secret. On the other hand the external elements of heathen idolatry were, it is true, denounced by him; but in the very heart of heathendom, that God-opposing principle of worldly empire had been evolved, which consists in the idolatrous worship of power and might, and so far from men having renounced it in compliance with the counsels of James, it is in the very bosom of the Church that it has been retained and developed. And how insufficient are the defences with which the Church has sought to guard against fornication! Indeed, by the ecclesiastical prohibition of the ordinance of marriage *πορνεία* has penetrated into the very sanctuary itself!

But now, since even at the time of the Reformation, which had for its task the re-acquisition and maintainance of individual liberty, this error in the view and procedure of the Church in regard to Israel as well as to heathendom, was merely attacked but not rooted out, the declarations and the counsel of James reach even unto the present days. What I mean is, there is still a duty for us to perform, in obedience to the advice of James, and it is incumbent on us to withdraw from the domain of the Spirit the merely external adoption and application of the Scriptures of the Old Testament and of Israelitish ordinances, as well as the merely external avoidance of idolatrous and heathenish characteristics. And it is not difficult to discern, that it is even in this way that the Gentile Churches must fulfil their mis-

sion, and that it is also by this method alone that an end can be put to the temporary exclusion of Israel. When, then, James brought forward his proposition as to the mode in which the independence of the recently formed Gentile Church was to shape itself; he was so far from comprising in his view nothing beyond its immediate present and future, that, on the contrary, he propounded to it a law which it was to observe throughout the whole period of its development and which, when it should have attained the end of its vocation, it would first of all be able to understand fully and to realise.

We have now convinced ourselves that the proposition which St James made, had not for its object merely an external and superficial reconciliation. In his far-ranging view he did not take in only the immediate want of the Church, but by the illumination of the Holy Spirit (by which he had been installed a presbyter in the Church of Jerusalem, so that in conformity with this position, he had been moved to speak in the assembly), he did, as it were from the summit of the mountain of Zion, overlook the whole future of the Gentile Church, and pointed out to it the law of its development, which, setting the Gentiles free from external union with Israel, should, in the way of the Spirit, maintain it in the midst of the world, and at some future day reunite it with Israel. Having then arrived at this conclusion, we shall now be in a condition clearly to comprehend the extraordinary success which attended the explanations and proposal of James. For we are told that, without further discussion, the Apostles and Presbyters, with the whole assembly, united together, in adopting his advice as their final determination, and resolved to acquaint their Gentile brethren with it in an authoritative manner. Now, if the silence of the whole assembly, even after the address of Peter, was something unusual, this reconciliation of all the differences and contrasts of opinion so sharply stamped and urged in the assembly, with so much energy and so little reserve, was still more extraordinary. The assembly itself felt in consequence that all this had been brought about in no ordinary way. It had a distinct consciousness of the opposition which had existed, and also a sense of the power which had operated for the reconciliation of the opposing principles. In the letter to the Gentile brethren, the members of the assembly write: ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν γενομένοις

ὁμοθυμαδὸν (ver. 25). Now, this important declaration implies two things: first, that the decree did not rest on any interested combination, but on the unanimous concurrence of their minds in a sentence which really united and satisfied all; and, secondly, that this unanimity was not brought with them into the assembly, but had there first of all been called into existence. But from the fact that they experienced this power thus internally operating on them for unity and unanimity, we also may know that the word which thus dissolved all opposition, and effected union, was originally the word of the Holy Ghost, and that, for this purpose, it had been poured into them, and made theirs (ver. 28). We must, however, endeavour to bring these proceedings more closely home to our minds, in order to protect against all false interpretations this adjustment of points so utterly opposed to each other.

De Wette considers it to be probable that the decree was passed by a majority of voices (on ver. 26); and Wieseler also seems to understand the matter in the same light (see Chronologie des Apostolischen Zeitalters S. 190). It seems to be thought impossible that the Pharisees, who had so sturdily advanced their own opinions, should have yielded before the sharp speeches, with which they were opposed by Peter and James. As, however, there is not a word in the careful report before us of any contradiction, and as this unanimity is asserted in the most unqualified manner possible, the only conception we can form of the final proceeding of the assembly is to suppose that the Pharisees (who indeed wished at all events to be accounted believers) were constrained for the moment to give way before the mighty power of the Spirit, and the truth which had made itself to be felt, and to be perceptible in the speeches of the Apostles, and the hearty concurrence of the whole assembly, as indeed had previously been the case on a far lighter occasion (see xi. 18). No one, too, will be able to maintain of one or another that it was not possible that he could have received from this mighty testimony of the Spirit an abiding and a soul-converting impression.

To many, it has appeared to present a still greater difficulty that St Paul should not merely have complied with, but that, together with the rest, he also should, from his heart, have con

curred in this sentence. And this difficulty has, by modern critics, been raised into an impossibility, and then they have charged the Acts of the Apostles with a want of historical truth. Now the examination of this difficulty possesses the greater interest, the more plainly we see that long ago Luther even was influenced by it; and the consideration in this place of the Pauline doctrine will ultimately contribute to the sole end of placing in a still clearer light the great importance of this assembly, and the sentence it delivered. We propose to commence with that aspect of the difficulty at which Luther took offence. Zeller asserts that St Paul, in accordance as well with his own declarations, as also with his general principles, could not have conceded to the first Church and to the Apostles such a position, as according to our report they actually did assume. He maintains that the right of the Gentiles to salvation by the Messiah and the abrogation of the Mosaic law, in circumcision, were points too firmly established in his own mind for him still to treat them as disputable matters, or for him ever to make up his mind to submit them to the decision of others (see ibid S. 436). And, in fact, when St Paul writes to the Galatians, if an angel preached the Gospel to them otherwise than as he had preached it unto them, he should be accursed; such a declaration does appear to lend no slight support to the view here advanced. Indeed, we also hear the same objection from the mouth of Luther. "We are here taught," says Luther (see ibid S. 1032, 1033), "that every one must take care that he is certain and sure of the true and right doctrine; and that he does not rest it upon the decision and inference of other people. Unless the Holy Spirit is shortly to see you coming to some check; if thou wouldest be happy thou must of, and for thyself, be so sure of the word of grace that even though all other men should speak differently—nay, even though all angels should say no, thou shouldest still be able to stand alone and to say: "still I know that this word is right." It was on this account, that I said that every Christian must make himself so sure of the matter as to feel in his own heart what is right and what is not right. God grant that it may so happen that thou mayest strengthen thy faith by the happy meeting with pious people who hold it as well as thyself, so far as thou dost not trust them as if they could not fail thee; the Holy Ghost has not

pronounced that he will be present in a council, but in the hearts of Christians whom He knoweth." One sees from these assertions, that to Luther's mind also, it was not quite clear how that assurance of the Christian which he found set forth and defended especially in the preaching of Paul, could consist with the definitive and determining significance which is here ascribed to the Apostolical Council. But the apparent inconsistency vanishes as soon as we fix our eye steadily on that which properly was the subject of discussion in this assembly. The question which there lay before them, was, without doubt, closely connected with the justification before God of the individual sinner; but it was not, as is often falsely supposed, identified with that matter. The question which it discussed was not, how the individual heathen might become just before God, but how the believing Gentiles, as a Church, ought to regulate their relations both towards Israel and towards the essence of Heathendom. It was not so much a question of conscience for individuals as for the Church. Now St Paul, as the Apostle of the Gentiles, is most immediately and most chiefly concerned with the laying of the foundation of salvation in the consciences of individuals (see on xiii. 18); and since, after the resolutions of the assembly, the Judaizing error continually assumed a worse aspect, and really and truly set itself the task of undermining everything like a personal acquisition of redemption and assurance of salvation, we do accordingly find that Paul frequently employs the whole earnestness of his Apostolical confidence in opposing this pernicious tendency. In such a concurrence the Apostle Paul bids the Christians to look to their own feeling of certainty—on which basis he himself stood—and leads them on to seek and to confirm this feeling of self-assurance by an immediate communion with the Holy Ghost; since it was by no other means that He himself possessed it, or desired to possess it. But the matter assumes a very different shape when the question becomes: what is the Church as a whole to do? For here we have the collective Church occupied with one and the same question; the Jewish half inquiring whether they might simply venture to allow the Gentiles to go their own way without compliance with the consecrated ordinances of the people of God; and the Gentile half seeking to know whether thenceforth and for ever they might freely and confidently trust to the already

operating guidance of the Holy Spirit, even though the external sign and manifestation of the people of God should continually disappear more and more entirely from the limits of the Church. In such a case even Paul could not discern nor desire any other solution of the difficulty than that the whole Church, and its representatives, should become percipient of the Holy Ghost in the same degree that His grace was vouchsafed to individuals in questions concerning their personal salvation. For as individual Christians are the temples of the Holy Ghost, just so, according to the doctrine of St Paul, the whole Church also is the temple of the Spirit (see 1 Cor. iii. 16; Eph. ii. 22). Why, then, should not Paul also have willingly consented to this method of bringing this ecclesiastical question to a decision by means of an assembly which should fully represent the whole Church, and also joyfully avowed his concurrence, when the light of the Holy Spirit broke in upon the perplexing enigma before the assembly? For as nothing else was here exhibited than a legitimate and natural adoption of the common opinion; then that true independence and self-consciousness which would render the adhesion to communion only the more steadfast and the more pervading, cannot in anywise be an obstacle to such a procedure. Only, even from this point of view we shall also find it to be perfectly consistent if the Apostle does not, in this assembly, take up the same position of Christian individuality as we see him maintaining throughout his labours, which had for their object, the whole collective body of the Gentiles ordained to eternal life in all places of the Roman empire.

Or, perhaps, the decree of the assembly is contradictory to the teaching of St Paul, and on that account we ought not to take for granted his assent? This, too, has been asserted, after a comparison as well of his doctrine concerning the liberty of Christians, as also of his own report of his second visit to Jerusalem with the narrative now before us. It is undoubtedly correct that St Paul, with greater or less zeal, warmly contends for the perfect liberty of the Christian, and his independence of all external precepts and regulations. He describes the being bound by any such outward ordinances as the "doctrine of men," and also "commandments of men." To his mind such a yoke of bondage is unworthy of Christians (Col. ii. 16; Gal. v.

1), and whilst he designates the maintenance of this liberty and independence as Christian vigour and strength (see Rom. xv. 1), he requires of the weaker brethren that they should recognise this energy of Christian faith and practice, and at least should not misjudge it (see Rom. xiv. 1—4). But he sees something still worse in such a bondage: it is dangerous and pernicious to the soul (see Gal. v. 9—11), and in the doctrines which seduce men to such bondage he traces the influence of evil spirits (see 1 Tim. iv. 1—3). However, that which in this bondage appears to the Apostle unconditionally abominable, is the mere looking for justification in such works, and consequently the abandonment of the position of grace and communion with Christ (see Gal. v. 4). But now we have seen that this was precisely what was set forth by St Peter and St James in the assembly as an unassailable fundamental position. But now, that even according to the teaching of Paul, a self-limitation, even on the basis of grace andun conditional liberty was not only possible, but also obligatory, admits of being indubitably proved. In those passages where St Paul is not occupied with the erroneous doctrine so utterly fatal to the liberty and independence of Christians, he expresses himself with regard to the position of self-conscious liberty and independence, which he describes as the true being and vigour of faith, in such a way as earnestly to press it as a duty incumbent on those who stand at such a height not merely to abstain from despising the weaker brethren, but also on every occasion to condescend to their weakness. This is the leading thought in the exhortation of the Epistle to the Romans (xiv. 1—15), as well as in his more detailed statements on the subject of sacrifices to idols (1 Cor. viii.—x.). Under this relation, now, there subsists between all the fullest possible agreement. For that which St Paul here enjoins on the several Christians of the Gentile Churches is essentially the same as what was advanced by St James as a general principle for the whole Gentile community. But it is even with reference to the offerings unto idols, on which St Paul expresses his opinion in the passage already indicated, that even Luther thought he had discovered a perceptible deviation from what had been recommended by James (see above S. 1043); and the same view is also maintained by Zeller (see above S. 448). St Paul, indeed, alludes to a

position on which it is firmly established that "as concerning the things offered in sacrifice unto idols, an idol is nothing, and there is none other God but one" (1 Cor. viii. 3), and that "whatsoever is for sale, that may be eaten" because "the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof" (see 1 Cor. x. 25, 26). But in the same passage St Paul also emphatically sets it forth that there is also another position at which it is not allowable to make use of such liberty; and, as has been already pointed out, his whole argument is intended to serve the end of exhorting these free and strong Christians to show a loving indulgence towards their weaker brethren, and, consequently, of their own free will, to set some limits to their liberty. There is therefore no room here to speak of contradiction. And the difference in question can be no other than that general one which subsists between the tendency of St Paul and the problem of the Apostolical assembly. However, it must not be overlooked that precisely in that treatise on the sacrifice to idols, where apparently the contradiction rises highest, he does in one passage abandon the position of individual conviction, and sets up a principle on the subject which is of universal application. For after he has exhausted the matter as viewed from the position of subjective conviction, he thus writes in conclusion: "Wherefore ye, dearly beloved, flee from idolatry.—What say I then? That the idol is anything, or that which is offered in sacrifice to idols is any thing? But, I say, that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils and not to God; and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils. Ye cannot drink the the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils; ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's Table and of the table of devils" (see 1 Cor. x. 14—19, 20, 21). According, then, to this statement Paul does assume the existence of a real communion between the sacrifice to idols and the idols, which is effected by the use assigned by the Gentiles to the flesh of the sacrifice. Wherever, therefore, this destination of it is quite clear and apparent, there the very strongest personal discernment is insufficient to put aside an opposition whose existence is acknowledged by the Lord himself (see ver. 22). In all this there cannot be a doubt but that a generally valid principle is set up in regard to this matter, which agrees perfectly with what was proposed by James, and

adopted by the assembly—a fact which even Ritschl is unprejudiced enough to point out and to confess (see Entstehung der altkathol. Kirche S. 132. 133). Nevertheless, we here see clearly that this agreement between Paul and James is perfectly free and independent. For it is clear that as St James, from his own position, arrived naturally at the view he propounded with regard to the renunciation of idolatry; so does St Paul bring distinctly before our eyes the method by which, from his own peculiar mode of thinking and teaching, he arrived at last at the same point. That, moreover, Paul perfectly coincided with James as to the necessity of guarding against the other matters of heathenish corruption and impurity, needs only to be mentioned in order to bring at once to our remembrance (what we have already just remarked) that Paul does very frequently, and with much earnestness, speak of fornication as the greatest and most principal sin of Heathendom.

We see, therefore, that although its is chiefly by and through his own peculiar mode of thinking, and his own special vocation, that he comes to move within a circle of ideas which are taken for granted by St James and the assembly, nevertheless when, from his own position, he comes upon the question of the normal relation of the Gentile Church to the essence of Heathendom, he does, in his own way, establish and prescribe the same observance and the same caution as James and the assembly of the Apostles. And we arrive at the same result by considering the aspect which the Pauline teaching exhibits relatively to Judaism. In the preceding paragraph we find that Paul held it necessary to enlighten the most important of the Gentile communities as to the significant part which Israel had played in the history of salvation. What does he wish first of all to attain to by this instruction? He himself tells us plainly enough. For to the heathen he says: *μὴ ὑψηλοφρόνει ἀλλὰ φοβοῦ* (Rom. xi. 20); and also, *οὐ γὰρ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοὶ, τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο, ἵνα μὴ ἦτε παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς φρόνιμοι* (Rom. xi. 25). Consequently, it was from laying to heart the position held by the Jews in the history of salvation, that the Gentiles would best arrive at a consciousness of their own true position, and learn to restrain themselves. According to this exposition of St Paul, in which they were taught to regard the hardening of Israel

as the beginning of their own redemption, and his conversion as the consummation of it, they were, in the most earnest manner possible, referred for the guidance of their whole development to that universal significance of the people of the Jews to which St James and the assembly had likewise directed their attention.

Now, just as the seeming inconsistency between the report given by our narrative of the Apostolical synod, and the position of St Paul's peculiarity of teaching and labouring is thus reconciled in the most glorious and most beautiful manner possible; so also does the case stand with the pretended contradictions between our report and the narrative of Paul in his Epistle to the Galatians, of which so much difficulty has been made. It is true that we shall not be able to get rid of these contradictions by following Wieseler (see chronolog. d. Apost Zeitalt. S. 186—206), and abandoning the now prevailing and well-grounded assumption, according to which the residence of St Paul in Jerusalem during this assembly, coincides with that which is mentioned by himself in the second chapter of his Epistle to the Galatians. For that Wieseler's hypothesis must be regarded as a failure must be conceded to Zeller (see ibid. 526, 428). Now, if Zeller so represents the matter, as to infer that, because the two accounts—that of Paul and that of Luke—speak of the same residence of the Apostle in Jerusalem, and further also touch upon the same contrast between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians, therefore, also, the same transaction is reported in the two accounts (see ibid. 431, 432); in that case it is an easy matter to find out contradictions. But a closer look, however, into the two narratives, will soon discover that the transactions, notwithstanding their synchronism, and the similarity of their objects, were quite distinct; and that, just as we concluded that, properly, the business before the assembly was a question which concerned both constituents of the universal Church alike, though each in a different manner; so it also very clearly follows from the first two chapters of the Epistle to the Galatians, that the object of St Paul there was to establish the authority of his Apostleship, which had been degraded in the sight of the Galatian Church by these Judaizing teachers; and that it is merely with a view to this end that he is there speaking of his stay at Jerusalem, and of his proceedings with the Apostles. Whereas, therefore, those measures concerned a question which

bore upon the interests of the universal Church, these, on the contrary, related to one purely personal to St Paul. And this difference becomes most distinctly perceptible, precisely at the very points where the two questions touch the closest. For with no other object does St Paul speak of Titus, and of his having withstood the false brethren who called for the circumcision of Titus, than to prove his own authority and independence even in Jerusalem (see Gal. ii. 1—5). And so, too, if he mentions his public reproof of the erring Peter, it is in order to shew that, so far from his being an Apostle in a secondary and derivatory sense, in the days of the weakness of Peter, he had furnished the only firm stay of the truth, and the only open resistance to error (see Gal. ii. 11—21). What reason, then, is there now for wondering, if, in a matter purely personal to himself, the Apostle conferred with the Apostles privately (*κατ' ἰδίαν* Gal. ii. 2), whereas, according to the Acts of the Apostles, the discussion of the Judaising error enjoyed a most designed and most complete publicity? Or what need to marvel, if St Paul should say that he went to Jerusalem in obedience to a revelation (see Gal. ii. 2), whereas, according to the Acts, he had been sent there by the Church of Antioch (see xv. 2)! In all this there is nothing remarkable except the coincidence that the needs of the Antiochene community as well as a personal matter of the Apostle should have at the same time suggested a journey to Jerusalem. However, as it was in co-operation with the Church of the Gentiles that the Apostolical vocation of St Paul was unfolded, and since both he and they were instructed, that as soon as their independence had been developed, they were to join themselves to the first beginnings of the Church, this singularity involves, consequently, nothing startling. But now that St Paul, in a personal matter of his own, in which a Divine guidance, as often times before, had been vouchsafed to him, should betake himself to the Apostles, while the representative of the Gentiles on the contrary, directed their steps to the Church at Jerusalem was but the simple and the natural course. The matter in hand, therefore, was not about irrelevant differences, as Schneckenburger says (see Zweck. der Apostelgesch. S. 73), not to speak of irreconcilable contradictions, as Zeller maintains, but of two opposite facts, which may very well stand side by side and mutually supply the

deficiencies the one of the other. It is true that it would go very ill indeed with this reciprocal supplement, if it were true, what Baur has strongly urged (and in which he has had the concurrence of Schwegler, Zeller, and even Ritschl) that, according to his statements in the Epistle to the Galatians, no agreement had ever been attained to between him and the Apostolical authorities, and that nothing more than a purely external compromise had taken place (see Baur, der Apostel Paulus S. 121—128; Schwegler nachapostol. Zeitalter i. 120; Zeller, ibid. S. 444; Ritschl Entstehung der Altkathol. Kirche. S. 115, 126). Truly, however, there does not exist any ground why we should envy these acute and learned discoverers of a post-Apostolic Literature their historical discernment of the personal characteristics and circumstances of the Apostle, such as it displays itself in the following assertions. If James, and Cephas, and John, after formally and deliberately conferring together, acknowledge the claims of Barnabas and Saul to communion and fellowhip; why, this must be nothing less than an external "Concordat" (see Zeller S. 444). And if they recognize the one as designed for the Jews, and the other for the Gentiles, and, therefore, give to each other the right hand of fellowship, and unite together, this must be a concession on both sides, and a reciprocal engagement to wink at each others' doings and principles (see Baur 125, 127). As to what Wieseler here adduces with regard to a division of labour customary among missionaries (see chronol. des apostol. Zeitalt. S. 145) it is but an extremly weak analogy, when, as here, the question concerns those two parts of the domain (to work which is the task assigned to the labours of the Apostles), which, according to history, and to the teaching of Scripture throughout, from Genesis to Revelation, are taken together as two halves of a whole, and of which it is obvious that St Peter, St James, and St John, carry the Gospel to the Gentiles no less definitely and strongly than St Paul feels it to be his duty to give instruction to the Jews. But there was no need to travel beyond the authentic declaration of St Paul himself in the very passage in which these critics fancy they can discover this monstrous transaction on the part of the Apostles. For St Paul, himself, says expressly, that the Apostles at Jerusalem acknowledged and ratified his labours among the Gentiles on condition that the poor in

Jerusalem were had in remembrance by the Gentiles (see Gal. ii. 10). As, of old, the services of the Gentiles had, for the abundance of their gifts been made use of by the people of Israel to promote a becoming worship of the Lord, and also the building of His house, and had thereby practically demonstrated their communion with Israel in the service and worship of Jehovah; so the Apostles now demand, that the fellowship of the heathen in the one faith, and in the one Lord, shall be plainly exhibited by the offering of their abundance for the edification of the Christian temple in Jerusalem to the quickening of the love of the communion of saints in the city of God. And is not this a clear sign that the Apostles in Jerusalem, at the very moment when they draw a line of separation between the work of evangelization among the Jews and among the Gentiles, still remained perfectly conscious that the Israelitish portion needed to be rendered complete by the portion of the Gentiles unto the unity of fellowship in love, of the one house of God in the Spirit. And does not the same hold true of Paul also? Or are we to fancy that St Paul, simply with a view of making a compromise with the Jewish party, among the Christians, and of being able to continue his labours among the Gentiles without let or hindrance, would have suffered this otherwise totally strange practice to be imposed upon him? Such an opinion would betray but a slight knowledge of the Apostle Paul; since supposing that this case of the suffering brethren in Judea and Jerusalem had been with him only a remote and alien consideration, he would have seen in it an arbitrary restraint on the freedom and independence of his Apostolical labours, and would in no case have submitted to it. It is quite clear and indubitable, even with regard to St Paul, that he likewise, at the moment of his conference and union with the Apostles in Jerusalem, kept constantly present in his mind the necessary relation of the Church of the Gentiles to the people of Israel, and to its spiritual centre in the Church of the believing Jews, and also the obligation which the Gentiles were under to the Israelites. Moreover, the mention of the condition on which St Paul undertook the Apostolical task of preaching among the Gentiles, is also in so far instructive, as it shows to us that we by no means catch the meaning of St Paul, if in the proposition of St James, and in the decree of the assembly, which

(as we have seen) was based on a perfectly correct appreciation of the relation of things, we think we can discern a limitation of doctrine (see Wieseler Chronologie der apostol. Zeitalt. S. 185, 186, 196, 201, 202).

But then, throughout, these critics insist that in his Apologetical explanation which he gives in the Epistle to the Galatians, St Paul must necessarily have made some mention of the meeting of the Apostles in Jerusalem and of its decree; and that, inasmuch as he does not furnish even the very briefest allusion to them, this circumstance must be admitted to furnish a valid argumentum a silentio against the veracity of the report given in the Acts (see Schwegler ibid S. 120; Zeller ibid S. 433, 435). It is true, the total silence which St Paul has here maintained with regard to these discussions and decrees, cannot be explained, as Neander thinks, by a tacit assumption that all the facts were well known; nor, as Schneckenburger holds, by a contempt for all proof resting on authority. For, as concerns St Paul, it is perfectly undeniable that, in this very context, he does appeal to the authority of the Apostles in Jerusalem; and if what was well-known would have been as influential, for his purpose, as it certainly appears that in all probability it would, then Paul surely would not have failed to refer the Galatians most expressly to what was well known, but which, in every case, was not then influentially present to their minds. But then these people slur far too hastily over the principal question; and that is, what end of St Paul's could have been promoted by the mention of these facts, in his relation to the Galatians thus seduced into errors. There were principally two lines of opposition in the Church of Galatia, whose errors Paul had to refute. The one was the calling in question the Apostolical authority of St Paul, the other the justification upheld by the Pharisees. No doubt but the decree of the assembly, and also the common letter of the several members of it, implied an acknowledgment of the Apostolical operation of St Paul; but it was very far from being so express and so striking as the confirmation which Paul was able to produce to the Galatians from his special conferences with the Apostles. But as regards the second point an appeal to these decrees was in this respect far from being advisable—not to speak for a moment of its being necessarily obligatory. No doubt, as we

have already seen, the decrees of the assembly are based on the acknowledgment of the liberty and independence of the Gentile Churches, as on an unassailable position ; but, inasmuch as the decrees have for their object the regulation of the freedom of the universal Church of the Gentiles, they were not calculated to bring the Galatians to a right knowledge and right sentiments. For the question on which they had made shipwreck with their faith was the personal one of the justification of individuals before God. On the contrary the injunctions contained in, and prominently thrown out by, these decrees, would necessarily have had a perplexing rather than a beneficial effect on the deluded Galatians.

And in the same way, also, may be explained another circumstance which likewise has been pointed out as singular and a questionable sign of the historical value of the reports of facts given in the Acts. The circumstance, I mean that the history of St Luke makes not the slightest mention of these negociations of Paul with the Apostles, and of the important incident regarding Titus, which also belongs to the events of this period (see Zeller ibid S. 425; Schneckenburger ibid S. 112). Schneckenburger does, it is true, speak of the difference of position from which St Paul himself and St Luke narrate these incidents—which, as they are allied in matter, so also do they belong to the same time (see ibid p. 76). However, he can scarcely have formed in his own mind a clear opinion of this distinction. For otherwise he would, before all other things, have discerned that Luke never and nowhere made it his business to relate the personal matters of St Paul ; and that, throughout his history, he did but consider him as a chosen vessel in the hands of the Lord, who had withdrawn into the Heavens, for the government of His Church and for the diffusion of it unto the ends of the world. St Luke, from the very beginning, has placed us at the highest height of prospect, and, to the very last, in all that he reports, his eye takes in the very widest and most distant range of view. We may, therefore, with good ground, give him credit for perceiving that these conferences of Paul with the Apostles on the subject of his Apostleship to the Gentiles (which, by the course of his history, had already received ample confirmation) as well as his conflict with the false brethren on the subject of the circumcision of Titus, in themselves and immediately, possessed only a temporary im-

portance; and that, therefore, he ought not, by mentioning them, to disturb or to perplex that universal point of view which prevails in all discussions of a public nature.

Thus, then, it has on all sides grown into a certainty, that we need to entertain no scruple at all, with regard to the unanimity asserted in ver. 25, but may feel perfectly confident of the entire and hearty concurrence of St Paul. The apostolical significance of this free and independent assent of St Paul to the proposition of St James and the decrees of the assembly, has been brought home to our minds in consequence of that unfavourable opinion of Luther which we have already alluded to. Here, too, this great teacher of the Church cannot make his way between St Paul and St James without stumbling. In his opinion not only is the decree of the assembly which was brought about by the advice of St James, not perfectly righteous, but even the whole course of the proceedings, fails to gain his approbation (see Werke viii. S. 1033. 1042. 1044). Whoever, on this subject, should be disposed simply to notice Luther's disagreement with a passage of Scripture, or like Neander (see Gesch. d. Pflauzung u. Leitung der Kirche S. 162), should be inclined to see in this case nothing more than a proof that Luther had not that "narrow unnatural ideal of inspiration which later theologians have held," such an one would at once make too much and too little of the matter. The position which Luther maintained with regard to the narrative we are examining was peculiar, and it admits not of being either understood or appreciated unless we take into our consideration the task which Luther was set, and to which he gave up himself entirely. On a former occasion we were constrained to remark, that at the time of the reformation the point which, above all others, was at stake, was the restoring to its inalienable rights, and in its eternally valid priority, the liberty and independence of the individual Christian, which had been hidden and suppressed, while the external shaping and unfolding of the Church was the general object of consideration. Now, it is in this, the proper vocation of the era of the Reformation, that Luther, with all his personal peculiarities and history, has his root. And therefore he not only with an earnestness, such as no one before him ever exhibited, maintained this freedom and independence of Christian men; but his whole life was an earnest

representation of it, such as had never before been witnessed. And even therein lies the reason why, on the one hand, both the whole question here in discussion which belongs to the opposite domain, and also the normal method for its solution is alien to him; and, secondly, also why this liberty and independence which in him assumed a personal shape, and was invested with an extraordinary claim to be respected, ventured not only to give utterance to this his subjectivity, but also to give it free scope. It is therefore quite consistent if in the further course of the development, which proceeded within that reformation of the Church to which Luther gave the impulse, a very different estimation and opinion of this normal synod of the Apostles was necessarily attained to, as Rudelbach has pointed out in the instance of the Lutheran divine Grossgebauer (see Zeitschrift für die Lutherische Theologie und Kirche. 1851. 300); consequently, this position of Luther, relatively to the whole of the present section, shows us on the one hand the universal bearing of the whole of this narrative, and on the other, the difference between an Apostle and a doctor of the Church. For it is simply because these Apostolical deliberations took in, not merely the commencement of the Christian life, but also its distant effects, that Luther, who was completely taken up with its beginnings, was unable to apprehend its importance. And how great St Paul was, we first clearly see from the consideration, that although he had the same problem as was laid upon Luther, and although on him it was enjoined in a perfectly original shape (whereas it was only in a derivatory sense that it came upon Luther), he was nevertheless in a condition with perfect freedom and independence to make allowance for the opposite problem, whereas the limits of Luther's understanding are brought to light before the opposite view. From this fact it becomes quite clear to us, that whereas Luther's vocation had reference only to a definite era of the Gentile Church, that of the Apostle Paul was intended to comprise all the times of the Gentiles; and that consequently the Church of the Gentiles, as well as the Apostle, chosen and appointed over her by the Lord himself, is bound, in obedience and faith, to submit herself to the Divine justification of this Apostolical synod.

Since, then, we have seen how comprehensive and far-reach-

ing was the importance of this first synod of the Church, we shall feel no surprise if the assembly carefully provided that its decree should be drawn up in a definite shape, and should be carried in a perfectly trustworthy manner to those who were most immediately affected by it; and that St Luke, accordingly, should have felt it to be his duty to preserve and to transmit to all ages this, the earliest documentary record of the Christian Church. In two ways was care taken for the transmission of the decree; by writing and by oral communication. By the former, the object obtained was, that the decree of the assembly reached those whom it concerned above all others, in its authentic form, without any subjective admixture or colouring soever. Accordingly the Christians in Antioch receive their first and immediate impression as to the result of the deliberations in Jerusalem from the decree itself, which is delivered to them in writing, and which they read aloud among themselves (see vv. 30, 31). We have here the first instance within the Christian Church (and a highly significant one it is) of the use of writing as a means for the trusty authentication and transmission of instruction designed for others; and there cannot well be a doubt that this great and luminous example had subsequently an influence on the rise of the sacred writings in the times of the New Testament. And on this ground it calls the more for our consideration, if this communication by writing should also have been of set purpose and intention, accompanied by the other method of message by word of mouth and oral publication. For it was at once agreed upon, that two men from the body of the Church at Jerusalem who were of repute among the brethren (ἄνδρες ἡγούμενοι ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ver. 32)—Judas and Silas—should be sent to Antioch to report to the brethren there, by word of mouth and with exhortation, the decrees of the assembly and to recommend their adoption. That to the minds of the assembly, as well as in St Luke's apprehension, this oral communication possessed the same importance and significance as the written one, we may perceive from the fact, that the letter expressly mentioned the sending of Judas and Silas and that the historian, after reporting the effect produced by the letter, does not omit to record the successful labours of these two ambassadors in Antioch (see ver. 32).

This is the first place in the history of the New Testament that writing furnishes an element in its development. And the combination which here meets us as naturally as it was consciously made—of a written with an oral communication and transmission of an important word—reminds us of the first occasion in the Old Testament where writing is mentioned. For there also there occurs a similar combination of written and oral tradition (see Exod. xvii. 14; cf. Theol. Commentar. Z. A. T. 1, 1, 514). In this regard, however, it cannot be accidental that whereas on this first necessity of using writing, the difference which Jehovah had established between Israel and the Gentiles—of whom Amalek is to be regarded as the first fruits (see Numbers xxiv. 20), is strongly impressed both by writing and by word of mouth on the minds of the people of the Old Testament; on the corresponding point of the development of the people of the New, they also, both by mouth and oral instruction, are bidden to remember that by faith in Jesus, God had actually done away with and annulled the distinction between the Jew and the heathen.

Now, in the letter the brethren are also mentioned as having taken part together with the Apostles and elders in the deliberations and the final decree (ver. 23). For the reading of some old manuscripts (which has also been adopted by Lachmann), which for *καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ* has *οἱ ἀδελφοὶ* as an apposition, however interesting, must, on a closer examination, appear to be an intentional alteration which had its source in the prejudice that in these discussions and decrees essentially none but Apostles were concerned, as even the words *καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι* were long ago considered unnecessary by Clement (see Tischendorf. ad L. l.), and this reading was very consistently maintained afterwards in the Roman Catholic Church, which excludes the laity from all participation in Synods. For, independently of the fact that a greater number of ancient MSS. and versions, exhibit the usual reading, it is not to be conceived that *ἀδελφοί* would be used without some closer limitation such as *ἐκ περιτομῆς* or *ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ* or *ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ*. Now, as those to whom the letter is addressed are designated as the brethren in Antioch, and Syria and Cilicia, we see that the recent Churches in Pisidia and Pamphylia were not immediately taken into consideration. At this we may well wonder, inasmuch as it was evidently these Churches that furnished the open-

ing for the wide diffusion of the Gentile Church. But we must not forget that in the first instance the letter, with good reason, had in view those who had been already unsettled by the demands of the Judaizers (see ver. 24). And this furnishes a very simple explanation why the regions which lay immediately around Antioch, where the Judaizing agitation had its commencement, came more under consideration than those more remote, into which this assault had not as yet penetrated. That, however, these Churches of Asia Minor, and generally all those that in following times might be formed out of the Gentiles, were comprised, and that their case also was considered in this dispatch, is evident from xvi. 4.

As regards the composition of this letter the adoption of the Greek epistolary form calls for our attention. In the beginning we meet with *χαίρειν* and in the close with *ἔῤῥωσθε*. This, it is well known, is the usual form. Artemidorus says: *ἴδιον πάσης ἐπιστολῆς τὸ χαιρειν καὶ ἔῤῥωσο λέγειν* (see in Wetstein ad ver. 23). Moreover, the phrase *εὖ πράττειν* (ver. 29), belongs to the customary expressions of the Greek Epistolary style (see the proofs in Wetstein ibid). It can scarcely admit of a doubt that inasmuch as this letter was sent by Hebrews, we have to recognize in all this the result of design and of a conscious endeavour. For, evidently, it is intended that the Gentile brethren, who had been accustomed to the Greek forms, should in those customary phrases to which the brethren in Jerusalem had reduced their own more exulting language, forthwith receive an impression of the truly paternal feeling with which it was written. This opening greeting of *χαίρειν* is, moreover, found in the Epistle of St James, which he wrote to the twelve tribes which were scattered abroad, of whom the majority, it is natural to suppose, spoke Greek as well as their native tongue. From this coincidence, Bengel, long ago, came to the conclusion that the Synodal Epistle was drawn up by St James, who had also delivered the decisive speech—an assumption which, at all events, has great probability in its favour, and in recent times has been adopted also by Bleek (see Studien u. Kritik 1836 S. 1037). Lastly, it must also appear singular to us, that even in the Synodal Epistle St Paul is mentioned after St Barnabas (ver. 26); especially when we bear in mind that according to the Epistle to the Galatians

St Paul had just obtained from St James, St Peter, and St John, the acknowledgment of his Apostleship among the Gentiles. That the placing Barnabas first is "without doubt purely accidental," we cannot, in any case, concede to Zeller (see ibid S. 454), since we have seen with what manifest tokens of intentional design the position of the two names has been changed ever since xiii. 13. It is true Zeller is right when he maintains that in two other passages (xiv. 14, and xv. 12) Barnabas is likewise placed first. However, in the former of these, Barnabas is mentioned first, because in the case of the heathen fanaticism of the people of Lystra he must have appeared the most highly gifted; and in the latter passage regard is had to the relation in which they respectively stood to the Church of Jerusalem. Viewed in this light, Barnabas was, from the very first, well known to them and greatly esteemed; Paul, on the contrary, was known to the majority only for his earlier hatred of Christianity, and since his conversion he had remained a total stranger to them. Since then it arose as much from the peculiar position of St Paul, which we have previously spoken of, as from the course taken by the deliberations, that a desire was felt to avoid all appearance of urgency on the part of the Gentile Christians, and especially all mention of the work of conversion in Asia Minor, which had been effected by the hand of St Paul, it is consequently quite consistent if in the assembly Barnabas took the precedence. Now, must not the same relation have determined their respective positions in the letter? The Apostles had no doubt been convinced of the call of Paul to the Apostleship, but as this had been brought about only by means of the conferences which had been specially and privately held with the Apostles (see Gal. ii. 2), it cannot be assumed that the same conviction had been fully established in the minds of most of those who had a share in drawing up the decrees and the letter of the Synod. These persons did unquestionably derive a better and a higher opinion than they had previously entertained of Paul from the accounts which were publicly given of all that the Lord had accomplished by his hand in Asia Minor; but that he was an Apostle, and as such was to take rank before Barnabas, was a conclusion which they must wait for further facts to establish. Since, then, James wrote in the name of the whole assembly, he put Barnabas and Paul, just as St Paul had invariably done

until he had practically demonstrated his own title to the Apostleship. And in this we have a very obvious testimony to the sparing tenderness for individual liberty and independence, which the Apostolical Church observed in all its public proceedings and measures. Bleek, therefore, will surely be allowed to be right when in this arrangement of the two names, determined by the very circumstances which, in a spurious narrative, would, without doubt, have been reversed, he would have us see a proof of the authenticity of the Epistle (see ibid).

One immediate and lasting consequence of this intercourse of the Church of Jerusalem with that of Antioch was the stay which Silas resolved to make in the latter city (ver. 34). In this circumstance we have a new manifestation of the forcible attraction which was contained in the fresh and exuberant beginnings of the Gentile Church. Thus, on the rise of the first church of the Gentiles in Antioch, Barnabas had been sent from Jerusalem to see how matters really stood, and when he had seen this new offshoot of the growth of the Church he was so attracted by it that he took his leave of Jerusalem for ever. So, too, John Mark proceeded from the holy city to Antioch, and we now observe a similar line of conduct in a third eminent personage from the Church in Jerusalem. In the course of the discussions on the Judaizing error, it had become still more and more distinctly evident, that the external participation of Israel in the kingdom of Christ was gradually drawing to an end. And this perception made a twofold impression upon the true Israelites. Some are drawn more and more inwardly into their own hearts; in stillness and great patience they contemplate the work of the Lord, and the more this work deviates from their own perceptions and thoughts, the more firmly and intimately do they cling to it in faith and hope. This is the position and mental state of the Apostles of Israel. Others are drawn more outwards, since they perceive that within Israel the stream of life gradually becomes more and more stagnant, while in the land of the Gentiles new rivulets are continually opening; they therefore turn their backs upon their obdurate countrymen, and, following their Lord, direct their views towards the countries of the heathen. In this direction we find Barnabas, Mark, and Silas. The Apostles remain true to, and cherish in the sacred depths of their hearts, the holily

accredited past and the divinely guaranteed future of their Lord, without failing, however, to hear the rustling of His footsteps in the present. The disciples of the Apostles have their looks directed to the doings and the providences of Him who, by His Spirit, works on the earth, as the eyes of servants look unto the hand of their masters (see Ps. cxxiii. 2), without, however, forgetting His sanctified past, and without neglecting His blessed future. The latter found in St Paul, whom in the present time the Lord had selected and prepared to be His chosen instrument, that stay and support which they had despaired of in Jerusalem and Judea. But the more clearly the true Israelites show themselves, even so much the more manifest must the false ones become. For the false Israelites exhibit themselves as those who, in the face of their own present, are unable and refuse to acknowledge the present of the Lord. Therefore, even though they stay themselves on the holy past, and the blissful future of Israel, still, inasmuch as they shut their hearts against the communion with the Lord, there is wanting to that past all that is sanctifying, and to that future all that can make it blissful; and that stay of the past is in truth nothing more than a shadow, and this hope of the future, nothing but a will o' the wisp.

§ 25. THE APOSTLE PAUL ON HIS FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY TO EUROPE.

Chap. xv. 36—xvi. 10.

The decrees of the Apostolical Synod, and the conferences of St Paul with the Apostles in Jerusalem, which took place at the same time, constituted a great step; and the development of the Church was thereby materially advanced. No doubt in the call of Saul, which, proceeding immediately from the Lord, had received its practical confirmation in what had been done in Asia Minor and in Antioch, a beginning had been made in the conversion of the Gentiles, which also had been brought about and operated by the hand of the Lord; but as yet there had been wanting an union between the new beginnings thus effected by the Holy Ghost and the first beginnings of the one Catholic Church in Jerusalem.

And even such a fusion accomplished by both sides, with a full consciousness of its import, was attained to in that solution (so important for all ages) of a most pregnant crisis which has been pourtrayed in the previous section. It is on this newly won territory that the further progress of the Church advances. St Luke, it is true, lays no stress on the personal explanations between St Paul and the Apostles in Jerusalem, since all that was most essential in it for his historical point of view, was contained in the acknowledgment of the Church of the Gentiles by the Apostolical Church of the Jews in Jerusalem. By this great turn of things the Gentile Church had had the testimony of the truth, which it had derived immediately from the Spirit, confirmed in the ordinary way of Church communion. In this way it had received a new support to its existence, and a new impulse to its further enlargement. But, at the same time, also, by having placed itself in its proper position relatively to the past—to the holy beginnings of the Church in Jerusalem—it had attained to the right rule and standard by which it might shape its future progress. It is, therefore, perfectly consistent if, at first, Paul and Barnabas abide for a while at Antioch, in order, by their teaching and preaching of the Gospel, to give a truly steady and unassailable foundation to the result thus obtained in the metropolis of all Gentile Christians (xv. 35). And equally natural was it also, if, after the new foundation of all further building in Antioch had been duly laid, a desire was awakened once more to go forth afar with the preaching of the Gospel; and that this desire should have been present in the mind of Paul above all else. For it was by the word and work of St Paul chiefly that these first Churches in the midst of the lands of the Gentiles were founded; He is their father (1 Cor. iv. 15), nay, their mother (see Gal. iv. 19). As we do not hold it to be necessary to go back to the ratification of his Apostleship which he had received from the Apostles in Jerusalem, but consider that the bond of intimate union between Paul and the brethren in Asia Minor, which the preceding narrative testified to, furnishes us with a perfectly sufficient reason, so St Luke deems it allowable, without further introduction, to report the words of St Paul inviting Barnabas to join him in visiting the brethren in Asia Minor (ver. 36). It ought not perhaps to be overlooked that this invitation, no doubt, contained the idea of a still further dif-

usion of the Gospel. For in the first place, this thought had been deeply imprinted on the soul of St Paul by the call of His Lord; and secondly, it had been pushed on forcibly into the foreground by the late decisive events; and lastly, this advance beyond the limits which the preaching of the Gospel had previously reached, follows without the allegation of any further reasons (xvi. 3—6). This, however, does but make us the more sensible of the prudence and calmness with which Paul enters upon the great work of carrying the name of Jesus into distant lands. For the first time he here appears as the originator of a missionary journey; but here we see how his first care is directed to the stability of the Churches already founded. Certainly he was very far from thinking that by his coming to these communities any great things would be accomplished. Let us go, he says, to Barnabas, and see how they do. For he knows that He to whom they had been formerly commended (see xiv. 23), was the true protector and guardian of Israel. The feeling which reveals itself, in what he here makes the first care and concern of his new travels, is the same that is forced upon our minds by the fact that on his first journey he did not forthwith follow on with his route unto the ends of the earth, but after reaching a certain preliminary goal, turned back and went again to Antioch. It is the conservative feeling which has given the true stability and effectiveness to that spirit of progression which constituted the chief tendency of his character and labours.

Now, with regard to the dispute which, on the occasion of this invitation, arose between Paul and Barnabas about John Mark, (vv. 37—39), it possesses in the first place a critical interest. For it has become the ruling fashion in a certain circle to assume, with Schneckenburger, that the author of the Acts of the Apostles had, of set purpose, gone to work to blot out all traces of the opposition between Judaizers and Paulinists, and also all those features in the latter which could only aggravate this opposition and strengthen the aversion of these Judaising zealots against St Paul (see Zweck. der Apostelg. xv. 37—40). The mention, however, of this quarrel between Paul and Barnabas apparently furnished an instance not easily reconcileable with this statement; inasmuch as Barnabas in later times allowed himself to be led away for a while by Judaising error (Gal. ii. 13). But Schrader

has already contrived to give such a turn to this matter as seems to make these critics quite safe against attack on this side, and, on the contrary, enables them rather to draw from it a confirmation of their general view of the History of the Acts (see z. Apostelgesch. xv. 37—40). For Schrader proceeds on the assumption that the statement here given of a disagreement between Paul and Barnabas relates to the same matter which St Paul touches upon in Gal. ii. 13; from this he forms the conclusion that the true and the more serious cause of the quarrel has been kept back and another alleged. Schneckenburger has gone still farther with his conjectures. He assumes it to be clearly made out, that the History of the Acts had set itself the task not to make the slightest mention of the highly important quarrel between Peter and Paul at Antioch, and on this ground Schneckenburger advances the conjecture that by this pointed statement of the departing asunder of Paul and Barnabas—a matter which must comparatively appear to be of little gravity—it was intended to conceal, as it were, the far more grievous dissension between St Peter and St Paul (see ibid. S. 108). Now, in all this there is, to my mind, one thing only that is surprising; and that is, that so many persons should concur in adopting so artificial a system as, however, they actually appear to do (see Baur, der Apostel Paulus S. 129). The whole of the argumentation of these critics rests on two manifest prejudices with regard to the character of the Acts of the Apostles: the one, that it was its author's purpose to furnish us with a history of St Paul; the other, that it was intended to serve some party object or other. To us, however, a fresh attestation is ever being brought, and it is also shewn in the present passage, that if in the third portion of his work St Luke does give us a very circumstantial account of St Paul, it is simply because the beginnings of the Church among the Gentiles were mainly laid by his personal labours. For the separation of Paul from Barnabas obtains a mention in the present place, evidently for no other reason than for that of exhibiting the last step taken by the Apostle Paul for the full completion of the independence of his Apostolical work. But how very far the Apostolical history is from giving way to the paltry and mean considerations of party—not to say from sacrificing to such human weakness the truth of history—has been ever and

again confirmed by the exalted prospect before which, at its very opening, it placed its readers; and our present passage furnishes a further testimony to this fact. For how easily might this squabble of these two Apostolical men be represented in an offensive light! How untoward for the beginning of the full Apostolical independence of the work of St Paul, and generally for the beginnings of the Gentile Church! St Luke, however, evidently does not take the least pains to guard against the evil impression. Not only does he simply state the incident without afterwards availing himself of the occasion to mention the fact that these two men were subsequently reconciled (see 1 Cor. ix. 6; Col. iv. 10; Philem. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11), but to designate the difference he even employs the very strong term of *παροξυσμός*, wherewith the Alexandrians, in Deut. xxix. 28, render the Hebrew קֶצֶף.

Since, therefore, this artificial hypothesis built on the passage before us is utterly devoid of foundation, we need not allow ourselves to be detained any longer with the conjectures advanced by the loose critics above named, and may, accordingly, take the matter simply as it is reported.

Now, as regards the matter itself, it is evident that St Paul had taken a more correct view of the importance and significance of the missionary work than Barnabas had, if he refused to consent to the proposition of Barnabas to take Mark with him again. When St Paul speaks of Mark as *τὸν ἀποστάντα ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Παμφυλίας καὶ μὴ συνελθόντα αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ ἔργον* (ver. 38), he evidently condemns him for going back at the very moment when the work of the mission was about to begin, and, therefore, as wanting in fitness for a work of such peculiar gravity (cf. Luke ix. 62). Now, since his character leads us antecedently to assume, and facts confirm the assumption, that Barnabas was incapable of rising to the height of the Pauline conception of the work of a missionary, we cannot therefore wonder if he felt unable to go along with St Paul in the severity with which he judged this act of withdrawal. Barnabas would consider the fact of St Mark's having followed them as far as Perga as a participation in the work, and, on that account, would be disposed, out of charity, to overlook his weakness—a course to which his relationship would the more incline him (see Col. iv.

10). While, therefore, de Wette, without the least ground, accuses St Paul also of human weakness, the difference between them is correctly characterised by the Greek commentators when they say: *ὁ μὲν Παῦλος τὸ δίκαιον ἐζήτει, ὁ δὲ Βαρνάβας τὸ φιλάνθρωπον.* Only Barnabas found it too difficult to submit his milder view of the case to the sterner judgment of St Paul, because he, as yet, was incapable of comprehending the profundity and the extent of the missionary work proposed by St Paul. And as the sharpness of the contention had its ground even in this narrowness of Barnabas's views, so is the fact very simply to be explained, that subsequently the reconciliation of these two persons could be easily effected. The view which St Paul had taken of the fall of Mark, was justified and confirmed more and more in the course of time. With constantly growing distinctness was it shewn that the mission called them to go both far and wide, and therefore, that he only could be looked upon as fit for the work who was possessed of a decided courage, and could resolve to part with all the long accustomed ties and associations of life. Before this practical and Divine attestation to the rigour of St Paul, Mark himself subsequently bowed, and upon the change of his feelings and sentiments, was again restored to fellowship with him. But the narrow-minded hesitation of Barnabas to yield to the views of Paul, furnishes, to our mind, a pretty strong proof how great an impulse to the development of the Church was effected immediately by the Lord in the call of St Paul to the Apostleship. Barnabas, indeed, was the person on whose mind the idea had first dawned of the great importance of Paul; he it was who had introduced him to the Apostles in Jerusalem, who had sought and had gained his assistance in the work at Antioch, and who, lastly, had been his associate in the first commencement of his Apostolical labours. And yet, when a second missionary journey is in contemplation, Barnabas is as little able to understand and to comprehend St Paul as Staupitz was to judge of Luther; so that, after a sharp dispute, nothing remained for them but to separate and to abandon what had hitherto been their common way.

The opposite direction of the routes which they now took serves to bring out to our minds their internal discrepancy, and to confirm our previous judgment of them. Barnabas, with Mark, sets

out for Cyprus (ver. 39). That upon the first mission of Paul and Barnabas, they should have gone direct to Cyprus, we found to be quite natural. But, if Barnabas now again chooses Cyprus as the immediate object of his journey, it is quite another matter. With the single exception of the conversion of the Roman Consul, the former residence of the Apostolical missionaries in the Island of Cyprus had been followed with no result. There were, therefore, neither churches nor brethren to visit in the island. But now, if the operations of the missionaries ought rather to be directed to the diffusion of the Gospel, then was there far greater occasion to go and seek out in the wide regions of Heathendom those spots which had hitherto remained untouched by the labours of the Evangelists. Since, then, neither the conservative nor the progressive element which characterized the missionary activity of Paul could have exercised any influence on the determination of Barnabas, we must assume that on this occasion the latter allowed himself to be influenced in the choice of his route by his natural connection with the island (see iv. 36). How very different was the conduct of St Paul, both at his setting out and in his progress along that fresh course of labour for the diffusion of the Gospel which he was now entering upon! In the place of Barnabas, he chooses for the companion of his travels, that Silas (ver. 40) who, having come over from Jerusalem to Antioch, had been induced to remain by what he saw there of fresh and hopeful beginnings of life (ver. 34). And on the present occasion also, he deemed it necessary to be sent on his way by the Church in Antioch, in order thereby to have the immediate call of the Lord acknowledged by the instrumentality of the Church and to bring it to a distinct realisation.

Now, the first field that was opened for the labours of the Apostle lay in Syria and Cilicia, where, as he proceeds, he visits and confirms the Churches (ver. 41). That Churches had already been formed in these countries we learn from the opening of the letter from the synod of Jerusalem; but, at the same time, from the very mention of them in that place, it becomes apparent that the Judaizing corruption had also found its way into those communities. How considerate, therefore, of St Paul, and how agreeable was it to the necessities of the case, that these Churches should

first of all be visited. But important as it may have been that these communities, whose peace had been disturbed, should be strengthened, still with St Paul this was only a subordinate purpose. Nothing more, therefore, can be devoted to it than a hasty journey through Syria and Cilicia, while he hastened to reach his immediate goal—the Churches which he had himself founded in Syria and Cilicia. As it is by an overland route this time that he reaches these countries, he arrives first of all at Lystra and Derbe (see xvi. 1; cf. Wieseler. Chronologie des apostol. Zeitalters S. 124. 125.) It is true that Lystra and Derbe are alone spoken of as visited by St Paul. However, as ver. 4 speaks generally of the cities, and ver. 5 also of the Churches in this region, we are assuredly justified if, in agreement with the intimation given us (see xv. 36) as to the original purpose of the Apostle, we assume that he likewise visited Antioch in Pisidia and Iconium. The following is probably the reason why Luke has made no explicit mention of the latter towns. As the looks of the historian were directed mainly to the further advances which the preaching of the Gospel was about to make, it might have been deemed in so far sufficient to instance Derbe and Lystra alone, and to give a merely general report of the labours of St Paul, and of the condition of the Church in that region. If, moreover, nothing more is narrated of the labours of St Paul among these four Churches of Asia Minor than that he "delivered them the decrees for to keep that were ordained of" the Assembly at Jerusalem, (ver. 4), we must infer from this that from these first beginnings, the Church of Christ, in the midst of the Gentiles had (as Paul had prayed, and, in reliance on the Lord, had hoped) advanced by a natural and rich development, and stood in no need of any special labours on the Apostle's part either to improve or to help them. This assumption is confirmed by ver. 5. For the confirmation in the faith, the increase in numbers—that growth, both inwards and outwards, which is here predicated of the Churches, cannot be intended to be regarded as the effect of the visit of St Paul, and of his influence; for otherwise the Aorist would have been used, whereas the repetition of the imperfect (which even the Vulgate has correctly retained) necessarily leads us to the hypothesis of a gradual growth as marking the habitual state of these Churches; on

which the note of Bengel, rarum incrementum numero simul et gradu, is perfectly appropriate.

The only circumstance connected with this stay of the Apostles in these Churches which is mentioned with especial prominence, is the admission of Timothy among the fellow-travellers of St Paul, because this fact proved of essential importance in the history of the progress of the preaching of the Gospel. For, according to our narrative, this Timothy afforded considerable assistance to St Paul in his Apostolical labours (see xvii. 14—16; xviii. 5. xix. 22; xx. 4), and according to the declarations of the Apostle himself, was the most attached of all his associates (see Phil. ii. 19—23; 1 Cor. iv. 17; xvi. 10, 11; 1 Thess. iii. 1—6). The question, to what Church Timothy originally belonged, whether to that of Derbe or that of Lystra, has met with various decisions. Those who have been guided principally by the passage before us decide in favour of his being a member of that of Lystra; because ἐκεῖ (ver. 1) immediately refers to Λύστραν, and it is most natural to suppose that those to whose Church he belonged were the persons who bore witness to his good name (ver. 2). Against this view of De Wette and Meyer's, others appeal to xx. 4, and decide in favour of Derbe. Thus, Olshausen, and, still earlier, Neander—see Gesch. d. Pflanz. &c., 223, and very recently Wieseler (see Chronologie d. apostol. Zeitalters S. 25. 26); while, lastly, the question is left undecided by Wiesinger (see Briefe des Paulus an die Philippen, Titus, Timotheus, und Philemon S. 364). Those who appeal to xx. 4 must set out on the assumption, that all the companions of Paul who are there mentioned are described by their birth-place; and, further, that the Gaius spoken of in this passage is the same as the Gaius who occurs in xix. 29, where he is joined with Aristarchus, and appears to be a Macedonian. From all this, the conclusion is drawn that Δερβαῖος cannot apply to Γάϊος the Macedonian, but must be referred to Timothy in order that he alone may not be left without his nomen gentilitium. Wieseler has relied with such confidence on these grounds that he pronounces it to be clearly made out that Derbe was the birth-place of Timothy; and then, with reference to the passage we are considering, he advances the conjecture that, at the time of St Paul's second presence in these parts, he had taken up his residence in Lystra. Wieseler,

however, has left totally unnoticed the chief difficulty which besets this way of taking the passage in xx. 4. This difficulty arises from the καὶ after Δερβαῖος; for that Δερβαῖος καὶ Τιμόθεος can mean "a man of Derbe, even Timotheus" must not merely be assumed by a translation, but also supported by proofs. To do this, however, would not be so easy a task. For if Valckenaer and Ernesti had felt it possible to be content with such a proof, they certainly would not have had recourse to the conjecture Δερβαῖος δὲ Τιμόθεος. In fact the possibility of this view is altogether upset by this καὶ, and one must content one's self with the hypothesis, that the name of Gaius, which, it is admitted, was one of very common occurrence, belonged to two different coadjutors of St Paul; and that Timothy is there left without any local designation, because the place of his birth might be supposed to be known from the passage before us. Consequently, we are again carried back to the present passage, and in it the most natural course is unquestionably to refer ἐκεῖ to Lystra, as Neander maintains. Now, assuming that Timothy did belong to Lystra, then he must have grown up in the midst of a totally heathen neighbourhood, since, as we see from xiv. 19, there was no Jewish synagogue in Lystra. On this account, we can the better understand why so much stress is here laid upon the religious creed of his mother, which, from 2 Tim. i. 9, we perceive to have been also that of his grandmother. Since we are told nothing more of his father than that he was a Greek, we have evidently to infer, that he had not become a believer, and that, consequently, it was mainly through the influence of his mother, that Timothy had been brought to a knowledge of the true God. This son of a Gentile father, who, in the midst of an idolatrous city, had, through the faith of his mother, become a disciple of Jesus, was well spoken of not only in the Church of his native place, but also in the neighbouring community of Iconium (ἐμαρτυρεῖτο, ver. 2). Already, therefore, in these infant communities had a definite judgment been formed of the characters of their individual members, as we have already found was the case in the Church at Jerusalem (see vi. 3). And this judgment is of such purity and gravity, that St Paul evidently ascribed great weight to it. For without doubt the good report of the Churches was the occasion of St Paul admitting Timothy to a closer inter-

course, in which his own experience quickly confirmed their testimony, so that he resolved to take Timothy with him (ver. 3). From this we gather, in the first place, that St Paul, while in these quarters, openly avowed it to be his fixed purpose to proceed further. It here occurs to us, however, that originally he had only spoken of visiting the churches of Asia Minor (see xv. 36). It is true, we must not most assuredly understand this, as Wieseler does, to imply that after this visit it had been his intention to return back again to Antioch. For such a plan would have been in open contradiction to the whole purpose of the life of St Paul, which was fixed for ever, when Jesus from on High called him to carry His name to those that were "afar off." We must rather take these words in this sense: At Antioch he proposed to go to these places, under the conviction that when he reached them, as the outmost stations as yet held by the life of the Gospel, it would be suggested to him most distinctly, how and whither he would have to direct his further course. And so it actually does occur. First of all, he discerns in Timothy a suitable character to make him a fellow-worker with him in his missionary travels, which were soon to be carried further among the distant Gentiles. For, by his father's side, and by the place of his birth, Timothy was connected with the Gentiles; but at the same time he had received from his mother instruction in that learning of the Israelites, which from the first was designed to become the light of the Gentiles. Since, then, with these qualifications he had also conducted himself unexceptionably in his own circle, and had, moreover, made a very favourable and lasting impression on the Apostle, which has found an expression in the purpose *σὺν αὐτῷ ἐξελθεῖν*, he remained firm in this determination. All this obviously marks a progress, which Wieseler correctly intimates when he says, "So far as can be shewn, Timothy is the first Gentile that, after his conversion, comes before us as a regular missionary" (ibid. S. 27). Here, at the most advanced post of the kingdom of Christ, Paul perceives that he has to advance further among the kingdoms of the world, and that thereby the development of the Gentile Church would shape itself still more independently than ever it had done before. With this consummation in view he seeks, in the very midst of the region of the Gentiles—afar from Jerusalem—far from the original starting-point of all

Divine teaching for the Gentiles—he seeks a supply of good and fresh strength in the son of the Gentile and the Jewess. We thus see that St Paul, in proportion as his thoughts were directed to more distant scenes of exertion, adopted greater independence and freedom in the mode and manner of his dealings with the Gentiles. The fact, however, that in this resolve of Paul to take with him, as the associate of his Apostolical labours, this son of a Gentile of Lystra, affords, in the history of the Apostle of the Gentiles, a sign of growing independence, and, in consequence, the motives which influenced him in causing Timothy to be circumcised have been generally misunderstood. Now, the circumstance that we venture to adopt in other respects the view advanced by Wieseler with regard to the peculiarity of the Apostolical labours of Timothy, although, as we have already set forth, we are unable to share his opinion that what is stated of Titus in Gal. iii. 3 is posterior in date, seems to demand a word or two of explanation. Previously to St Paul entering upon the third of his missionary journeys, there is nowhere the least mention of Titus taking any share in the work of diffusing the Gospel. He appears, indeed, as the companion of St Paul on the second journey of the Apostle from Antioch to Jerusalem. Such companionship, however, it is self-evident, is surely, to be distinguished from such as concerned the missionary travels of St Paul. Since, then, upon the second departure of Paul from Antioch into the land of the Gentiles, Barnabas, John Mark, and Silas, are mentioned as his companions without the least syllable of allusion being made to Titus, we are, in consequence, justified in looking upon Titus—a Gentile—as being a youth of Antioch, who was dear to Paul, and whom, on this account, he took with him to Jerusalem without any official character, who, however, when the Gentile Church had made considerable advance in its development, was afterwards joined to the other helpmates of the Apostle.

If, now, we pay due regard to the circumstance that, in thus availing himself of the services of Timothy, St Paul took a new and unheard of step, we shall probably be able to understand what were the Apostle's motives in causing him to be circumcised. That, in this proceeding, St Paul is to be looked upon as the responsible party must be steadily kept in view, even though,

with Olshausen, we should lay stress on the fact that Timothy, of his free will, submitted to the rite. For, in a way that cannot be mistaken, does the narrative lead us to the conclusion that St Paul was the moving and actuating party in the business. It says *λαβὼν περιέτεμεν αὐτόν*, just as if it were speaking of a father and his child under age. And if Timothy makes no resistance—of which naturally we have no reason to doubt—but freely submitted, it was primarily out of obedience to the Apostle, and we are reminded of St Paul's words concerning Timothy in his Epistle to the Philippians: *τὴν δὲ δοκιμὴν αὐτοῦ γινώσκετε, ὅτι ὡς πατρὶ τέκνον, σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐδούλευσεν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* (Phil. ii. 22.) Now, there are some persons who so understand the Pauline principle of liberty as to pronounce this fact of the circumcision of Timothy at the requirement of St Paul merely as such, and, irrespectively of all influencing motives, to have been a departure from this principle. In support of this view they appeal to Gal. v. 2, where St Paul declares to the Galatians that, if they submit to be circumcised, then the law would profit them nothing; they would rather thereby take upon themselves the obligation to fulfil the whole law, and seek salvation in it. Therefore, they argue, by the circumcision of Timothy the whole principle of the Apostle—the salvation of the disciple's soul, was altogether trifled with. Most assuredly, there could be nothing which could claim consideration in the face of such a danger (see Zeller. ubi supra, S. 446.) People seem to forget that, by such a zeal for liberty, liberty itself is again transformed into bondage. If, for instance, "the absolute incompatibility of Judaism with Christianity, of the law with the Gospel, of circumcision with the faith of Christ" (v. supra, S. 445), are to be understood in the sense they intimate, it must then be an essential duty of Christianity to avoid everything that is Jewish, of the Gospel to allow of no contact with the law, and of the faith of Christ to abhor circumcision; but now, since circumcision, the law, and Judaism, comprise the whole life, individual, social, and political, then would a Pauline Christian from among the people of Israel be a man tied wholly and entirely to externals. But, on the contrary, what does the Apostle say? *Πάντα ἔξεστιν, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα συμφέρει· πάντα ἔξεστιν, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα οἰκοδομεῖ* (see 1 Cor. x. 23). According to this decisive declara-

tion, liberty consists in our keeping ourselves absolutely uncontrolled and unrestrained by external things, and being influenced purely by the internal judgment. If, therefore, all things are allowable, then circumcision must not be excepted; on the contrary, such an exception would be itself a restraint upon our liberty. And if St Paul does, nevertheless, thus unconditionally prohibit circumcision to the Galatians, this has been quite correctly explained by Neander, who insists that what the Apostle here meant is circumcision conjoined with the conviction that the Galatians had associated with it (see Geschichte d. Pflanzung, S. 297.) Zeller, no doubt, pronounces this to be a "poor expedient" (s. ibid. S. 447, 448); but he forgets that the whole epistle of Paul, no less than the context of the passage in question, justifies this hypothesis of Neander as an exegetical necessity. Circumcision, or any other work whatsoever, as a means of justification, is, as such, an abolition of that whole state of liberty which has its only ground and stay in Christ, the living and only principle of justification. Circumcision, therefore, is not forbidden to the Galatians simply on account of its being incompatible with faith, but because, in the case under consideration, it upsets the very basis of liberty (see Gal. v. 1). Consequently, what is allowable or not according to the principles of *Pauline* liberty admits of being determined by no external consideration, but merely by a regard to what is profitable or edifying; and this regard has its root in love. But now, this love is no less universal and unconditional than liberty itself. Just as liberty is not limited externally, and therefore comprises the whole domain of possibility, so love likewise has no external limit; it therefore can again refuse and forbid all that liberty permits. Love can again submit to the whole law that liberty has abolished. Even this does St Paul say of his own life and conduct. "For though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all that I might gain the more. And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law." If some people have advanced the opinion that all this (1 Cor. ix. 19, 20) cannot assuredly be taken in a sense which would make Paul to deny certain essential principles; and such a denial is, they insist, involved in the circumcising of Timothy

(see Baur der Apostel Paulus, S. 131); this again arises from the same outward, unauthorized method of interpreting the doctrine of St Paul. In pursuing this direction, the Apostle would have contradicted essential principles, if he had made himself subject to the law and to Judaism, not out of love, but of constraint. For this, however, the mere taking on him of circumcision was not sufficient; had he, however, in this way been willing to make himself subject even for one hour to the law of the Sabbath, in that case he would have violated the most essential principle of his liberty. But no one would wish, as certainly no one would be able, to prove that it is not possible to submit to circumcision out of love. The declaration of Luther, who above all others is very delicate and sensitive on this point, is perfectly conclusive on this matter. He thus expresses himself: "Just as I myself, in the present day, if I were to go among Jews, and had to preach the Gospel, but saw that they were weak, should be willing and ready to submit to circumcision, and to eat and abstain as they did. For, in whatever respect I did not adapt myself to them, I should shut the door against myself and against the Gospel that I preached." (See Werke, viii. 1050.) If, in a purely outward manner, Paul had set limits to that submission to Jewish peculiarities which love might suggest, how in that case could he have said ἐγενόμην ὡς Ἰουδαῖος and ὡσ ὑπὸ νόμον, expressions which point to the whole of Judaism and to the entire fulfilling of the law? It is true Baur objects that he would have become a Jew to the Jews exactly in the same sense as he had become a Gentile to the Gentiles (see u. s.) We admit at once, and without scruple, the illustration; without, however, admitting the validity of the inference, that because there were certain Gentile practices which St Paul would certainly not submit to, therefore there were also some Jewish customs which St Paul would in any case have resolutely abstained from. Those things which, in the Gentile mode of life, even the charity of Paul could not have submitted to, were such as had taken their peculiar shape under the influence of sin. But in this limitation, again, the motive does not arise from without but within; and it is nothing less than the conviction, that, by its very nature, charity cannot look upon a fellowship with sin as either beneficial or wholesome. But now

the peculiarity of the law in Israel consisted precisely in this that in all points it went counter to the corruption by sin of the natural element of human life, so that within the law, no such expressions of sin-infected life occur. If, therefore, even the extent in which the love that sets its limits to liberty may exhibit itself, assumes a different aspect, according as the question concerns what is lawful or unlawful, then the principle remains identical in both cases, and the analogy adduced by Baur has no force to move us from the conclusion we had previously arrived at.

Since, then, the result which we have attained to is, that the circumcision of Timothy is not in the least degree irreconcilable with the principles of St Paul; the only question that can now arise is, whether, in the circumstances of the present case, there did exist a sufficient reason for a feeling of charity thus setting limits to the liberty of Timothy? For that Timothy was free to remain just as he was, admits not of doubt. Moreover, his acceptance of the office of a helper on the missionary journey, in itself could not create the necessity for such a step. On the contrary, the occupation to which Paul had thus elected Timothy would seem rather to furnish good ground for his abstaining from circumcision. For the looks of St Paul, indeed from the very beginning of his missionary labours, but still more so now, were directed mainly to the Gentiles. And it was evidently this very regard to them that determined him to choose for his companion the son of a Gentile. Why, then, does not Paul go so far as to protect Timothy in the maintenance of his Hellenic peculiarities, even supposing that urgent exhortations were made to him to adopt the opposite course? It is quite plain that in this matter St Paul puts out of sight all regard to the Gentiles, and looks exclusively to the Jews who might take offence at the uncircumcision of Timothy. Now, we know that Paul, in another case, where a similar requisition was urged upon him on the part of the Jews, decidedly refused to consent to it. I am alluding to the case of Titus (see Gal. ii. 1—4). By those who call in question the historical character of our narrative this instance is strongly insisted upon as of great weight, and they maintain that it is purely impossible to make the Apostle answerable for such inconsistency as results from the *comparison* of the two cases. (See Baur der Apostel Paulus S. 129. 130, Zeller, ibid. 446,

447). But we have already called attention to one important distinction between the cases of Titus and of Timothy: there is also another important one which arises from the difference between the Jews with whom Paul had to do in Jerusalem, and those to whom he has regard in Lystra. The former are spoken of by Paul as false brethren, who chiefly had in design to spy out his Christian liberty, in order that by the discovery of some weakness or other they might the more surely bring him under the yoke of bondage. (See Gal. ii. 4). It is easy to see that in the face of these conscious enemies of Christian liberty, who properly represented the principle of legal bondage in opposition to the Gospel of Christ, Paul must have felt himself called upon to maintain the principle of the liberty in Christ in all its strictness and definiteness. But how totally different is the case with the Jews in Asia Minor! Since no further description is given of these Jews than is contained in the words *ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐκείνοις*, we must, according to the prevailing phraseology of our writer, understand by them such as were still unbelievers. (See xiii. 50; xiv. 4, 19). Accordingly, it is self-evident, in their case there was no reason for supposing the existence of an intentional adherence to the legal position; that consequently St Paul was under no necessity here to resist an opposition of that nature. But still it may be the opinion of some, that St Paul could not have paid any regard to Jews who had already withdrawn themselves from the faith, and much less such regard as in any case was as much calculated to offend the Gentiles as it was to win the Jews. That Timothy should believe in Jesus without being circumcised could have proved no special offence. For, in this, he was but on a par with many Gentiles, and in his case the offence, if any, was long since done away. But that he should now take part with Paul in the preaching of the Messiah of Israel, whom the Christians worshipped, would prove so great a cause of offence, that they would not have left off to spread the knowledge thereof in every quarter, and to excite among all the deepest aversion and horror of such a proclamation of the Messiah. For such feeling some justification, too, would be furnished them by the character in which Paul and Barnabas had taken their leave of the Jewish Synagogue in the neighbouring city of Antioch. On that occasion, they gave themselves out to be the true Israel,

whose vocation it was to lighten the Gentiles (see xiii. 47). If, then, Timothy, although he did not bear about with him the sign of an Israelite, should get a part in this vocation which was recognised as pertaining to Israel, this would, in all likelihood, have proved an offence to the Jews in Asia Minor, and in every place to which the news thereof might reach. And now, if we only bring home to our minds the great stress which the Apostle invariably lays on the prerogative and rights of Israel in the preaching of the Gospel, and reflect that, in this dutiful respect to the everlasting call to salvation which belonged to this people, he must have been confirmed anew by all that had taken place in Jerusalem, we shall even see in the call and circumcision of Timothy that condescension of love which recognizes no law but the edification and benefit of others, whether they are under the law or without the law. St Paul chooses Timothy to be his fellow-labourer as the son of a heathen, out of consideration to the heathen, to whom he is to carry the name of Jesus; he chooses him as the son of a Jewess, and causes him to be circumcised out of consideration to the Jews, to whom, by God's appointment, the glad tidings are first to be carried.

By the admission of Timothy among the companions of his travels, St Paul was now prepared to proceed onwards. He resolved to go to Phrygia first of all, and to visit the Galatian territory (ver. 6.) What might have been the reasons which induced him to take this northerly route, is a question which scarcely needs to be determined, since we at once perceive that the history takes no farther interest in the direction thus given to the labours he had undertaken. It only touches very slightly on the route of the Apostle in order to go on to something else. St Luke with great rapidity passes over this onward progress in a sentence which contains no less than three participles immediately connected together (ver. 6). As this transition is of a kind which is nothing less than characteristic of our book, and also has not remained free from considerable misconception, it is necessary for us to take a somewhat closer view of it. Now, the right interpretation of the sixth verse depends partly on our rightly understanding the participial construction, and partly on our determination of the geographical designation of *Ἀσία*. First of all, as regards the geographical

question: Meyer is of opinion that Asia generally is here meant in opposition to Europe. In this view, it is rightly argued that the opposite to Asia must be Europe, and that by this contrast it is intended that the latter should be made a prominent object of thought. But as Europe is not named, we have no right, in order to enable us to discover the contrast involved in the name *Ἀσία*, to take this term in a sense which was absolutely not usual, and which, moreover, as De Wette correctly remarks, directly contradicts the usual phraseology of our book. The contrast, therefore, indicated by Meyer, cannot be involved in the name; and we must, therefore, derive it from the historical contents of our narrative. In the passage Acts ii. 20 the word *Ἀσια* occurs in so narrow a sense that not only Pamphylia but even Phrygia is excluded. Now Winer shews that this narrow limitation of the word was both determined and is justified by Roman geography in the times of Augustus (see Biblisch. Realwört. i. 97). But Wieseler goes yet a step further, and he maintains that this official use of the name is also the only one that is known to the Acts of the Apostles (see Chronol. d. Apost. Zeitalter S. 34). Since, then, there is nothing to be found in contradiction to this statement, it must be looked upon as well-grounded. Now, from this we gain this much; we see that the hindrance of the Spirit cannot, as Meyer thinks, refer to his labours in Galatia and Phrygia; and we arrive at the same conclusion from a closer consideration of the participial construction. That several participles without any connecting particle, should occur in combination with a single verb, is a form of sentence frequently observed since the publication of Hoogeven's notes on Viger. Little attention, however, has as yet been paid to the question: What is the relation in which these participles stand to each other and to the verb? Winer does nothing more than remark that these participles occur either co-ordinately or subordinately (see Grammatik. der neutest. Sprach. S. 402). But it has not escaped the discernment of Bernhardy that co-ordination is the usual construction, especially where a series of tempora finita are combined together (see Wissenschaftliche Syntax der griechishen Sprache S. 473)—where, to the instances adduced by Bernhardy from the tragic poets, the following passage from Plato, de republ. 4. 440, may

be added—*κρατουμένους ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας διελκύσας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, προσδραμὼν πρὸς τοὺς νεκροὺς . . . . . ἔφη·*) Now, in the language of the New Testament, the instances of this construction are particularly common. In our author we meet with the following: *λαβὼν δε τοὺς πέντε ἄρτους . . . . . ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐλόγησεν* (Luke ix. 16). *ἀκούσαντες δε οἱ ἀπόστολοι, διαρρήξαντες τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν, ἐξεπήδησαν εἰς τὸν ὄχλον* (Acts xiv. 14); *εὑρόντες πλοῖον διαπέρων εἰς φοινίκην, ἐπιβάντες ἀνήχθημεν* (Acts xxi. 2); but especially *διατρίψας ἡμέρας οὐ πλείους ὀκτὼ ἢ δέκα, καταβὰς εἰς Καισάρειαν, τῇ ἐπαύριον καθίσας ἐπί τοῦ βήματος ἐκέλευσε τὸν Παῦλον ἀχθῆναι* (Acts xxv. 6). In all these instances Aorist participles occur in the same manner precisely as in the passage before us, and the relation which subsists among them is such that the co-ordination of the participial notions preserves the order of succession in time. And this is also found to be the case, wherever, by a similar asyndetic construction, two present participles follow one another as in the passage immediately subjoined: *πάντες οἱ παραγενόμενοι ὄχλοι ἐπὶ τὴν θεωρίαν ταύτην, θεωροῦντες τὰ γενόμενα τύπτοντες ἑαυτῶν τὰ στήθη ὑπέστρεφον* (Luke xxiii. 48). Having thus seen that such is the way in which the asyndetic connection of participles is employed by our author, St Luke, we must consequently regard the three particles *διελθόντες, κωλυθέντες* and *ἐλθόντες* as co-ordinate, and indeed as preterites arranged in succession one after another, in such wise that the action of *κωλυθέντες* must be understood as occurring, when that of *διελθόντες* is over, while that of *ελθόντες* takes place only when that of *κωλυθέντες* has been already accomplished. By observing this order, we shall arrive first of all at the result that the hindering of the spirit of divination does not (as Meyer without all reason, and, as it now appears, in spite of the usage of the language, assumes) refer to Galatia and Phrygia—a conclusion which we had already come to by considering simply the words *ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ*.

But, further, it follows from it that we have to look upon St Paul, as labouring effectually in Phrygia and Galatia for the conversion of the Jews and Gentiles. What, therefore, is intimated in this passage is not merely the possibility that these countries were the scene of St Paul's labours at this period; but,

on the contrary, it leads us directly to assume it as a fact. Accordingly we have here support for the view (which, independently, is the most natural and the most widely received), that Paul founded the Churches in Galatia during his second stay in Asia Minor. Now, such being the case, it does strike us as very singular that St Luke should silently pass over this important fact, which was not only important as regards St Paul personally, but also for the whole Church collectively. Schneckenburger adopts, indeed, the strange notion that Luke designedly hurried thus rapidly over the labours of St Paul in Galatia, because the history of them did not furnish any illustration of the practice so usual with St Paul of going first of all to the Jews, and of only turning to the Gentiles after he had been rejected by them; for, he says, there were no Jews there at all (see ibid. 104, 105). But on the one hand it is very far from being proved that there were no Jews in these regions; on the contrary, Schneckenburger must himself admit that Jews have been traced in Phrygia; while, of Galatia he only asserts that none have been found there; although he has no other reason for this than the bare absence of express and distinct testimony. But who will build on this want of evidence—especially when the universal dispersion of the Jews is so strongly attested (see on xv. 21), and when we know besides that the Judaizing false teachers so easily gained admission into the Galatian Churches? And still worse stands the case with the other position advanced by Schneckenburger. For that St Luke was very far from having made it a rule not to give a detailed account of the labours of St Paul except in those places where he would have an opportunity of exhibiting the transference of the Gospel from the Jews to the Gentiles, may be indubitably proved by the full and detailed account he has given of the operations of this Apostle in Lystra and at Athens. If then St Luke does not abstain from giving a full and circumstantial report of all that Paul did in these places, when he addressed himself either not at all, or else but very transiently to the Jews; then the absence of Jews in Galatia (which at all events is very improbable and totally unproven) is not necessarily the cause of his silence in the present passage.

Olshausen suggests that the reason, why St Paul's journey through Galatia and Phrygia is so briefly mentioned, was pro-

bably because he was in a hurry to see the Apostle come to Europe (see ii. 734). And if we ask why Luke cherished such a wish; then we are told it was because, considering the character and circumstances of those who would be his first readers, he must have felt it as it were a duty to describe, as soon as possible, the passage of the Gospel from Asia to Europe; to which must be added also the fact, that it was just before the Apostle sailed from Troas for Macedonia that he himself first joined St Paul on his travels (ii, 731, 732). And so there arises the complaint on Olshausen's part, that while Luke moulded his report by a desire to make it interesting to his first readers; we who read him after a greater interval, of necessity suffer thereby to such a degree indeed that we are left in total ignorance of the formation of the important Churches of Galatia. Olshausen is apparently not aware that thereby he has asserted of a canonical book what is altogether inconsistent with its character. If St Luke wrote a book which, according to God's design, was to be a sure guide for all coming generations of the Church; how in that case could he have so far consulted his own convenience, as that, whenever it was easy to be full and particular, simply on that account he entered into details; but in all other cases where an accurate knowledge of particulars could only be acquired by careful inquiry and diligent research, there he has omitted them simply for the sake of saving himself trouble. And, moreover, it is not one whit more consistent with the character of a canonical book, if the writer, while he thinks only of his more immediate readers, leave the more distant ones totally at a loss. But in truth the matter stands essentially otherwise. What Olshausen says of Luke, that in his narrative he is evidently in a hurry to get to Europe, is indeed correct. But he does this, not so much out of any regard to his immediate readers, as to that which lies at the bottom of the plan of his whole book. The object which St Luke had proposed to himself was to pourtray the Church running the first stadium of its development under the guidance of its Lord exalted to Heaven. Naturally, therefore, all the events which occurred to the Church during this period, did not possess an equal value in his sight; but different incidents would assume greater or less consequence, in proportion as each formed or not an element in the course of the general development of the whole Church. It is for this

reason that throughout the third portion of our history the narrative directs itself exclusively to the labours of St Paul. For it is they that moulded the whole of the development which is described in the latter portion of this first period of the Church and that regulate all its progress. But in the labours of St Paul every act and deed naturally did not possess a like importance, and an equal influence on the development of the whole. Since then, as has already been clearly shown and will yet be still more clearly indicated, the main stream of this development proceeded from Jerusalem to Rome, the labours of St Paul in Phrygia and Galatia evidently lay out of the line of this direction. For these labours may have been a necessity as regarded the present, yet as influencing the progress of the whole, they were but a vanishing element. It is true, Olshausen calls attention to the important phenomena of the Churches in these lands, so instructive and so important for all future times. Still, as regards the historical progress of the whole Church, the error of the Galatian Churches was nothing less than a step backwards, since the rule for this domain of matters had already been determined for all times of the Church by the transactions at Jerusalem. Moreover, whatever of a generally instructive and edifying nature is to be drawn from the fall of the Galatian Churches, is at our command in that Epistle of St Paul which is addressed to them, and it stands in need of no special completion or explanation from the general history of the first period of the Church.

Having, therefore, as we learn from other sources, during his journey through Phrygia and Galatia, founded some new Churches, Paul and his companions went back, as from κωλυθέντες we must infer, with the intention of labouring still further in Asia. But they had not yet reached Mysia when the Holy Ghost forbade them to preach the word of the Lord in Asia. This operation of the Holy Spirit must have been something different from what alone Meyer professes to find in it—namely, the working of the Spirit of prudence which rightly judged of existing circumstances. It is true that the Spirit which forms a right judgment of circumstances cannot be deemed unsuitable to the missionary work of the Apostle. On the contrary, we have seen that it was this Spirit alone and entirely which on each occa-

sion, had hitherto determined the direction which their missionary labours should pursue. But since this is the first time that the influence of the Holy Ghost is expressly spoken of as determining the course to be followed by them in their efforts to evangelize the nations, we are on that account compelled to assume that it was an extraordinary intimation of the Holy Ghost that is here meant. Such a special and extraordinary interference was evidently designed to show that whereas hitherto the diffusion of the Gospel had been carried on in an unbroken progression, connected together by natural points of junction, it had now to make a leap, to which it could not be impelled, except by an immediate and independent operation of the Divine Spirit within. But that this Holy Spirit could so work upon Paul and his companions, that they forthwith adopted His guidance, had its ground in the fact that this Holy Ghost was the Spirit of Jesus (see ver. 7). We may assuredly take for granted that, although primarily this intimation of the Spirit was only negative, and did but refer to the immediate neighbourhood, Paul took it for a sign that a new epoch was now to commence in his Apostolical labours. And since from the very first his view had been directed to a distance, he would surely recognize therein a pointing to a new and more distant sphere of action. If, then, according to this, the name of Asia signified nothing more than the immediate vicinity of the region in which Paul then found himself, still under the circumstances then prevailing it would naturally have suggested to him to direct his thoughts and views towards the great and powerful West, the rich world of the isles, where, from of old, had dwelt the sons of Japhet, Gen. x. 5. As, therefore, he went towards Mysia with no intention of abiding there, but with the design of pushing on to Bithynia, I understand it as an attempt on his part to reach the land route to Byzantium, and from thence the great sea route towards the west (see Wieseler, chronologie des Apostol. Zeitalters S. 35). He does not, therefore, seek to go to Bithynia with any purpose of preaching the Gospel in that land, because it was not included under the term Asia. For such a supposition would rest on a very mechanical mode of understanding this first working of the Spirit. Besides, the second operation of the Spirit is, to our minds, no mere repetition of the first (which, in any case, would lead to the conclusion that inade-

quate attention had been paid to the first) but a more particular limitation of it. That is to say, as the Spirit will not allow St Paul to go to Bithynia; in this way an intimation is given him that he must not take the long, circuitous route by land, but that he is to proceed straightways to the sea, in order to arrive at the lands "of the isles" (see Gen. x. 5). Thus, then, it becomes explicable why they passed by Mysia in order to go down to the sea-coast of the Troas.

This point must have possessed a deep significance for St Paul; for the second time he was now placed on the coast of the Great Western Sea. But as in the interval between the two occasions, his vocation had dawned upon his mind in far greater clearness, and with more definiteness of purpose, so the Troad also, as it pointed onwards to that field of work, wherein his labours were to be carried on on their grandest scale, left a still more distinct and stronger impression than Seleucia formerly did (see xiii. 4). Not only does Troas lie on the sea-coast itself, but likewise the prospect from it commanded the islands of Greece at no great distance. The sea, with the harbour of Troas, must have appeared to him as the natural bridge between Asia and Greece. Moreover, Alexandria in the Troad (see Winer bibl. Realworter ii. 633), carried the thoughts not only to the earliest but also to the latest of the great collisions between the East and the West; and lastly, Troas itself, as a colonia juris Italici (see Winer ibid.) was a living representation of the social polity of the Roman empire. It could not fail but that this locality, with such significant allusions, must have made a very powerful impression on the mind of St Paul. The state of the Apostle's mind may have been not unlike that of the great king Nebuchadnezzar, when for the first time in the history of the world, the epoch of the establishment of a universal empire had arrived. As the monarch lay on his bed, thoughts came into his mind of what should come to pass hereafter (Dan. ii. 29). St Paul, too, must have felt, that he was then at the commencing point of a new development, not, indeed, of the kingdoms of the world, but of the kingdom of God, and that this new development was connected with his own person and his own labours. How must the thought of the promises to Abraham have passed over his soul—promises which embrace the fulness of the nations and of the Earth—and the longing

Psalms of David and of Asaph, which, appealing to distant kings and peoples, as if they were then present before them, refer them to the true God Jehovah; the hopeful announcements, too, of Isaiah, which so frequently and so impressively comprise the isles of the sons of Japhet, within the glorious and blissful future of Israel. Here, in Troas, all this must have appeared to him as nothing less than a wonderful Divine germ of a last and concluding future of the nations; which, reaching far back into the profound depths of a holy past, was now by his instrumentality for the first time to attain to its visible development and manifestation. As Nebuchadnezzar lay at night on his bed, and meditated on what was to come to pass, it was shewn to him in a dream what shape the development which began with him should eventually assume. So, while St Paul, in the lonely night, was filled with the great thoughts of the present moment of his existence, a vision came before him which told him what he was to do (ver. 9). As it is not said that the vision happened to him during a dream, Olshausen is right in maintaining that we must suppose St Paul to have been awake. It is perfectly obvious that the man of Macedonia is to be taken as the representative of a multitude, for his words are *βοηθήσον ἡμῖν* (ver. 9). Now, it may very possibly be true that, primarily, he represents his own nation in the stricter sense; but it is also quite conceivable that he stood for the whole of the nations of the west. It is only the latter interpretation that appears fully to do justice to the importance of the moment, which is rendered still more intense by the fact of this vision. But now the man of Macedonia was perfectly well suited to represent the collective presence of all the nations of the west. It was by means of the kingdom of the Macedonian Alexander, after whom the city of the Troad was named, that Javan, which is the Biblical designation of Greece (see Knobel. Völkertafel. S. 75) had come into contact with the East (see Numbers xxiv. 24; Dan. viii. 21). And even in the position which Heathendom then held, Macedonia might well pass as representative of the whole of Hellenism; for the rugged distinction which had originally existed between Macedonia and Hellas had been now smoothed down by the course of history (see Hermann's griech. Alterthumer. S. 354, 355). And so far as the empire of the West was carried on and completed in that of

Rome, the man of Macedonia, as the representative of the first Western empire, may stand as the representative of the Roman also. Now, when the Macedonian thus representing both the Greek and the Roman Empire, says to St Paul: "Come over to Macedonia and help us," he makes a confession that the highest splendour of Heathendom which we must recognize in the arts of Greece and in the polity and imperial power of Rome had arrived at the end of all its resources. God had left the Gentiles to go their own way (see xiv. 16). In the meantime, with all the means of human nature and of earthly reality, they had sought to gain salvation for themselves. But all had been in vain. And those who had carried it furthest along the paths of natural development, were now pervaded by the feeling that all had indeed been vanity. This feeling is the single, pure result of all the history of heathendom. And Israel going along the way which God had marked out for him, had likewise arrived at his end. At last he is in condition to realise his original vocation, by becoming the guide who is to lead the Gentiles unto God, the only Author and Creator of man's redemption. And St Paul is, in truth, the very person in whom this vocation of Israel is now Divinely present. And that at this same moment the heathen world has reached the proper condition for admitting the ministry of Israel in the salvation of the Gentiles is confirmed to St Paul and to us by this nocturnal apparition of the Macedonian.

§ 26. THE FIRST CHURCH IN EUROPE.

(Chap. xvi. 11—40.)

It is at this point that the narrative assumes the form of personal communication, and from this we necessarily conclude, that the narrator was to be found among the companions of Paul. Since then the composition of the Acts of the Apostles has been ascribed to Luke by the three chiefest representatives of the mind of the Church in the second century—Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, and Tertullian; it has, therefore, even of old, been inferred that Luke joined the Apostle on this journey, and that,

too, at Troas (see xvi. 10). In very recent times offence has been taken at the circumstance that the narrator and companion of St Paul should not have given his name, and the conjecture has been advanced that the author could not have been any one else than Timothy, whose adoption into the travelling companions of St Paul has been just mentioned. And only on the hypothesis of the fragmentary and atomistic character of our book, was it possible, with such an assumption, still to ascribe to St Luke the composition, or rather the putting together of the two parts of the same. Now, since the examination of the contents of our historical work, has already, at all points, proved to us the direct contrary of such a hypothesis, and will, moreover, prove it throughout to the end; consequently, the opinion, if well-founded, that it is Timothy who here comes in speaking, would lead us to the further hypothesis that even he and not St Luke must be the author of the whole of the Acts of the Apostles, and accordingly, also, of the third Gospel. With such an opinion we should come into collision (as unjustifiable as it would be prejudicial) with the oldest tradition of the Church. Besides the foundation on which the whole assumption rests is very far from being a sure one. If Timothy is really the narrator, why does not the personal form of communication commence at once with ver. 4? In fact, it is purely arbitrary to suppose that Timothy begins to be the narrator from ver. 19, and not before, when, at all events, he had been St Paul's fellow-traveller throughout the journey to Phrygia and Galatia, and had himself also experienced the hindrances of the Spirit in reference to Asia and Bithynia; all of which, however, is narrated in the third and not in the first person. When, therefore, we take into consideration the character of our book, and the nature of the passage before us, and if, besides, we allow the old tradition of the Church to have its due weight; then we come back to the most ancient and most general assumption that St Luke had joined St Paul in the Troad, and that he, therefore, on this ground, reports all the circumstances which immediately followed as having taken place under his own observation.

It can lead to no good result to indulge here in conjectures with regard to St Luke. But, nevertheless, it is quite in place for us to consider and to weigh well the important influence the fact may have exercised on him, that he should have entered

into the fellowship of Paul and his companions precisely at the moment here indicated. It was the great moment, when, by an extraordinary sign from the Lord, the Apostle had it revealed and confirmed to him that the "far off" to which he had been referred, at the very beginning, as the scene of his labours, was to be sought no where else than in Europe, the men of which had been pointed out to him by a Divine appearance as prepared and matured for the salvation of Christ. By the circumstance that at this very spot Luke bound himself to St Paul to share his work, he was placed, from the very beginning, at the height from which he must be able to gain the widest and most comprehensive survey of the course of the Gospel in the first days of the Church—even such a survey as prevails in, and gives the tone to, the entire narrative of our book, from beginning to end. The first and most immediate fruit of this grand comprehension and survey of the whole was this silence about the access of his own person into the course of events—a point on which Irenæus, indeed, long ago, very justly expressed himself in all essential respects when he writes: quoniam is Lucas inseparabilis fuit a Paulo et cooperarius ejus in evangelio, ipse fecit manifestum, non glorians, sed ab ipsa productus veritate.

Now, from Troas, Paul and his companions go in a straight course, with a favourable wind, to the adjacent island of Samothrace. On this island which, from of old, had furnished the connecting link of religious tradition between the East and the West, and was regarded with the deepest veneration (see Creuzers Symbolik ii. 285, 316, 355, 356; Wacksmuth hellenisch. Alterthum. 2. 146, 147.), the soil of Europe was for the first time trodden by the Apostle's feet. Astonishment might perhaps be felt that Paul should not have begun his labours in Europe on this remarkable spot, in order to render this island once more the starting-point of religious traditions, though not, indeed, in the service of the Cabiri, but in the service of Jesus Christ. But upon a more careful pondering of the matter, it will not surprise us that Samothrace remained nothing more than a mere place of passage in St Paul's missionary journey towards Europe, and that his contact with this island should attain to no higher significance than that of a sign to be attended to. For the Apostle seeks not what is high and eminent in the past, but he is in search

of everything that in the time present exalts itself, and is supereminent, in order to humble it and to make it bow down before the only and the true height of Jesus Christ (see 2 Cor. x. 3—6). But that which at this time agitated and influenced the then present of Europe was not the might of religious traditions, but the strength of political potencies. St Paul, therefore, directs himself not so much to the centre of the mysteries, but to the zenith of political might. It is for this reason also that he did not tarry in Neapolis, the somewhat insignificant harbour on the Strymonic Gulf, but proceeded forthwith to Philippi. And it does too altogether seem as if St Luke had intentionally called our attention to the greatness and the rank of this city, with the very object of explaining why it was that St Paul first made a stay in that place.

The particular description given of Philippi *ἥτις ἐστὶ πρώτη τῆς μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις κολωνία*, has been the subject of very various interpretations. At present most interpreters agree in holding that the expression *πρώτη* must be understood with regard to St Paul's route; so that is to say, as to signify, that Philippi was the first city of that province of Macedonia to which Paul had received a call (see ver. 10) and which, in his travels, he had arrived at (see Wiesinger zu Briefe an die Philipper S. 3, 4). Since it is no longer the custom to say with Olshausen; that Neapolis was simply the harbour of Philippi (for it is well known that, accurately speaking, Neapolis did not belong to Macedonia, but to Thrace (see Winer bibl. Realworterb. 11. 142). this interpretation, unquestionably, possesses a certain probability. Only it suffers from one (and that not a slight) difficulty, that, namely, as Wieseler very correctly remarks (see Chronol. des Apostol Zeitalters S. 37), the present, *ἔστι* demands that the predicate it brings in should possess a general validity which, however, is evidently not the case with a statement referring to the direction of the travels of St Paul—a signification which ought to be expressed not by *ἔστι* but by *ἦν*. But now since *πρώτη* (as has been long since admitted), cannot signify the capital city, inasmuch as Amphipolis was the chief city of this district, I therefore come back to the immediate combination of *πόλις κολώνια*, which Grotius and Meyer have recommended. Philippi is described as the first colony and city, because in Macedonia

there were several colonies (see Kühnöl. h. l.). Philippi might, very probably, have been distinguished, above all the other colonies. For this there may have been reason both in its situation—the vicinity of the famous battle which issued in the defeat of the Republican party, and in the circumstance that it had been honoured by Augustus, with the rights of a "colonia juris Italici." And as a proof of this it is quite allowable with Wieseler (see u. supra), to appeal to the fact that the name of Philippi is placed before that of Amphipolis in the Peutinger Tables.

Now, if this account were nothing more than a statistical notice of Philippi, which had not anything to do with the course of the history here lying before us, then the addition would certainly be startling—but such is not really the case. By the fact that Philippi is described as a colony, it is at once set forth as an important member of the great system of the Roman empire. The colonial towns which possessed the rights of the jus Italicum were distinguished from the other towns of the conquered provinces by privileges of many kinds (see Kühnöl ad h. l.). Philippi, therefore, in the far east, with its Italic privileges, was a realisation and representative of Italy and of its centre, Rome, the capital of the world ;—and in so far a place such as fully corresponded to the cry for help of the man of Macedonia. Moreover, the importance of this city will be attested, still further and still more fully, in the following narrative of all that happened to the Apostles, whether of good or evil, in Philippi. In my opinion, too, the expression *τῆς μερίδος*, also contains a similar allusion to the Roman empire, whose characteristics and polity here come, for the first time, into contact with the Gospel; in so far, namely, as in the Pisidian Antioch, which also unquestionably was a colony (see Diog. Laer. tit. 15. 8.), no reference to the public authorities had taken place. For, in the interpretation of these words, two circumstances are generally overlooked. On the one hand, the article is usually taken in a demonstrative sense, as Kühnöl, without circumlocution, says—"*τῆς μερίδος* is put for *ταύτης τῆς μερίδος*" and as even Bengel himself had intimated it to be his opinion. But now (it is well known), this demonstrative signification of the article is nothing but a fiction of the later grammarians (see Winer Grammatik S. 163). Secondly,

again, μερίς is taken, if not in in the sense of province or country, [*Land*] (as Luther translates it), yet, at least, in the sense of a smaller division, and appeal is made to the fact that Æmilius Paulus had divided Macedonia into four districts, and, according to the opinion of some, it is one of these parts that was here intended by μερίς. Now, in the first place, it is not at all probable that St Luke should have entered so minutely into the geography of Macedonia; and, secondly, the greater the stress that is laid on this special signification of μερίς, the more indispensable must the demonstrative pronoun appear; and lastly (what indeed is the chief point), the same reason which does not allow of the interpretation of μερίς by province or department is exactly in the same degree an objection to our taking it in the sense of division or portion of a country. For μερίς generally means not pars but portio. And it is in this signification, that μερίς appears in all passages of the New Testament in which it occurs (see Luke x. 42; Acts viii. 21; 2 Cor. vi. 15; Col. i. 12); and in the Old Testament, just in the same way it corresponds to חֵלֶק Ps. L. 19, lxxiii. 26, or to נַחֲלָה, Joshua xviii. 7, xxiv. 32); Schleusner, it is true, in his Thesaurus Novus in lxx. adduces a purely local sense of μερίς; in which, namely, it is intended to stand for קָצֶה extremitas. However, the adduction of the two passages Judg. vii. 19 and 17, is founded upon an error. One passage only remains, Ruth iii. 7. But even here it is not conceivable that the Seventy would have rendered a word of so frequent occurrence as קָצֶה by one which, like μερίς so little corresponds to it; unless they had thought of the extreme part of the heap of corn as set apart for the purpose of distribution, in which case μερίς must be left to its ordinary signification in this passage also. There is, too, nothing to be wondered at if this signification of μερίς is so constant; since in μερίζω, μερίζομαι, to which μερίς so distinctly points, the signification of distribuo is throughout the predominant one. Now, if in our interpretation, we hold fast to the phraseology so distinctly and visibly traceable, then it becomes evident that the author had before his mind that organisation of the Roman empire which had taken possession of all regions of the inhabitable world (οἰκουμένη) as the portions assigned and allotted to it. Macedonia is one of

these portions, so that we must take Macedonia in apposition to τῆς μερίδος.

In this city of Philippi, therefore, in which Roman soldiers had been settled by Augustus (see Dio Cassius as quoted by Kühnöl) which, therefore, had acquired not merely the importance of an actual colony (cf. Puchta Cursus der Institutionen. i. 235, 416), but also the jus italicum besides, St Paul, with his companions, made a halt for the first time on his new career (see ver. 12). Although St Paul was now well aware that he was standing on a totally new field of his Apostolical labours, still, even here he adhered to his earlier practice of preaching the Gospel first to the Jews, evidently proceeding on the conviction that this order must not be revoked by anything else than the distinct expression of an indisposition for it, on the part of the whole people. On this account, even in the Roman city of Philippi he betook himself first of all to the quarter where the small community of the Jews (who had no synagogue), were wont to assemble. And this was near the water of the Strymon, where, according to custom (which we elsewhere meet with, see Wetstein and Schöttgen ad h. l.), prayer was wont to be made. If we follow the reading which is best attested, εἰς τὴν προσευχήν (ver. 16), we must assume that on the banks of the Strymon a house of prayer had been built for the use of the Jewish community. From this, however, it does not follow that in ver. 13, also, we are to take the word προσευχή in this concrete and local signification. For what Bengel says is perfectly correct, de domo synagogæ non dicitur οὗ ἐνομίζετο συναγωγὴ εἶναι. Therefore, in ver. 13, προσευχή can be nothing else than the usual public prayer, which afterwards in ver. 16, is taken in a concrete sense by the addition of the article. The missionaries go up to the assembled women since they, considering the small number of the actual Jews, formed the majority, inasmuch as here, even as elsewhere, the God-fearing among the Gentiles who had joined the Jews, were chiefly females (see xvii. 4. 12). And it was precisely among these pious women that those were found in whom the work of conversion was attended with such great results and blessing, and who, therefore, are set forth as the first fruits of St Paul's labours on the Continent of Europe.

Lydia, it is true, was not a native of Philippi; but this dealer

in purple drew her origin from Thyatira in Lydia, which was especially famous in ancient times for that manufacture (see Tholuck die Glaubwürdigkeit der evangelischen Geschichte S. 382). She was, however, a heathen, and at this time settled at Philippi (see ver. 15). On hearing the discourse of St Paul, her heart, we are told, was opened by the Lord (ver. 14), not, that is, as if every disposition and willingness on man's part to receive the word of God must not be referred to Him (see xiv. 27), but because in every instance it is not equally obvious. This is what we are to understand in this case by the mysterious procedure being here expressly recorded. There can be no doubt that St Luke recognizes the extraordinary work of the Lord in this case, because of the rapid and steady course of her conversion. For three results of this "hearing" of Lydia are forthwith set down: her own baptism; the baptism of her whole house; and the reception of the Apostles into her house (ver. 15). This is the first time in the report of St Paul's labours among the Gentiles that baptism is mentioned. Naturally this is not so to be understood as if, in the four cities of Asia Minor, St Paul had not caused baptism to be administered. Inasmuch, however, as in those cities baptism is implied as self-evident, while here it is mentioned, we are to assume that here, in the first European communities, it had a higher significance and more lasting effect. At the same time, we must take into consideration the circumstance that St Paul avows that he was not sent to baptize but to preach the Gospel, and that therefore he had baptized but a few persons (see 1 Cor. i. 13—17). The thought which lies at the bottom of this antithesis can assuredly be no other than this, that in the work of preaching the Gospel, the subjectivity of the preacher comes out more prominently than that of the baptizer does, or may justly do, in the ministration of baptism. The more, therefore, that the personal character of any one has become prominent in preaching, as in so remarkable a degree was the case with the personality of St Paul, that neither before nor after him can a parallel instance be found;—so much the more unfitted was he subjectively to administer the rite of baptism, lest in any way he should allow to fall into the background the objective rite of baptism—the sacramental presence and operation of the Lord—and lest he should in any, even the slightest, respect, introduce his own name

as a co-operating element into that wherein alone the name of Jesus Christ is of avail, and alone is to be venerated. He who, with open heart, had followed the preaching of Paul and believed, was by baptism received into that personal communion with Christ, which embraces the whole man; and thereby he became free, and was set loose from all dependance of any kind on St Paul. Here, on the domain of St Paul's missionary exertions among the Gentiles, is this, the normal procedure, for the first time expressly reported, because we see that beginning of historical fulfilment which had been prefigured in the conversion and baptism of Cornelius, whereas the foundation of the four Churches in the southern parts of Asia Minor, when considered by the light of the general history of the Church, does not form as yet more than a passage towards the permanent beginnings of the Gentile Church.

What apparently was the second advantage of the conversion of Lydia is the rapid and decided influence which the converted Gentile had on her whole house. Accordingly, it would seem that her faith had attained at once to such strength and definiteness, that she was able to impart the same to her whole house. In the converted and baptized family of Lydia, we have accordingly the first historical fulfilment of that foretoken which was given in the house of Cornelius. For the house of Lydia does not remain in that lonely isolation which marked the house of the centurion in Caesarea; but it was introduced into a Church, or rather it formed the stable commencement of a growing Church. For the influence of St Paul in Philippi is very different from the influence of St Peter in Caesarea; for, whereas the latter had been sent expressly to one man and to one house, Paul had received the command to preach to all.

Lastly, the conversion of Lydia is sealed by acts of great self-denial, and by the disinterested zeal (which, in the case of a dealer in purple, duly deserves fuller acknowledgment), with which, in spite of their refusal, she forced St Paul and his companion to regard and to use her house as their house of entertainment without charge (ver. 15).

By the rapid and unreserved conversion of the house of Lydia, a firm foundation had been laid, on which the first Church in Europe might be built, and thereby the truth of the nocturnal

vision in Troas received its confirmation. It has been clearly shewn that here, in the land of Macedonia, nothing but the true word was wanting to find the prepared hearts. But precisely on the supposition that Philippi was intended to appear the representation of the European Gentile world, must we expect that it would manifest not merely a singular aptitude for the Gospel, but also the opposite aspect, which also is peculiar to the Gentile world. And so even it did; and here, for the first time, an hostility to the Gospel was shewn without the intervention of the Jews. And this hostility possessed also a thoroughly Gentile character and course. A female slave, for instance, had a spirit of divination, and when with her cries she proved troublesome to the Apostles, Paul commanded the spirit to come out of her. And when this was done, a persecution was raised against the Apostles, on the part of the avaricious masters of the maiden. Now, first of all, we must, without any hesitation, admit that Baur (see Apostel Paulus, S. 146—149) and Zeller (see Theolog. Jahrb. 1849, 537) are right in maintaining that Luke as well as St Paul proceeds on the supposition that a personal spirit operated in the female slave. That, however, for him at any rate who believes the Scripture and also its testimony to the spiritual world, such a confession did not leave any room for the assumption of a subjective colouring of the fact—what, however, Neander and Olshausen allow in the present place to be at least possible, needs surely nothing more than merely to be mentioned. It is unquestionably correct to maintain that by the expression *πνεῦμα πύθωνα*, that connection, which, in the popular belief, was assumed to exist between the soothsaying of the female slave, and the Pythian Apollo (see Plutarch d. defect. orac. cf. ii. 424. E.) appears to be likewise taken for granted in the account of St Luke. But, then, if Olshausen thinks that in all this we may clearly discern an accommodation, since St Paul expressly teaches that the idols are nothing (see 1 Cor. viii. 4), why, that is indeed an over-hasty inference. For that with this proposition, *οἴδαμεν ὅτι εἴδωλον οὐδὲν ἐν κόσμῳ*, Paul as little intended to deny the existence of false gods in the world, as he did his own existence, when he said: *εἰ καὶ οὐδεν εἰμι* (see 2 Cor. xii. 11), is shewn by the expression which occurs in the same paragraph: *ἃ θύει τὰ ἔθνη, δαιμονίοις θυέι*, see 1 Cor. x. 20.

Now, this *adhesion* to the prevalent popular superstition is so far from being any thing singular, that in this domain it must rather be regarded as the general procedure in the history and doctrine of the Bible, since, in this domain, Scripture claims a right to attach itself to the original fundamental ideas of the human race, just as if it were itself on that domain (cf. Hofmann, Schriftbeweis 1, 302). Very peculiar, however, and extremely well worth considering, are the words which the spirit in this maid utters with regard to these Apostolical preachers of the Gospel: "These men are the servants of the Most High God which shew unto us the way of salvation" (ver. 17). Olshausen considers it allowable to refer us to the parallel case of the cry of the demons on the approach of Jesus (see Matt. viii. 29); but he seems to forget that the latter cry expressed nothing but agony and alarm at the presence of the Son of David. As Bengel says: "præludium futuræ subjectionis sub pedes Jesu; whereas, in the former nothing is uttered but a recommendation and appropriation of the Gospel message. Bengel, therefore, is perfectly right when he says, "erat spiritus non e pessimis." And we must not fail to remember that, among the Olympian deities, the Pythian Apollo was the impersonation of morality (see Göttling's Vermischte Abhandlungen aus dem classischen Alterthum 1, 221, 222. Jacob's Vermischte Schriften iii. 355, 360; Lübker in Flensburger Programm, 1849, S 26). Now, St Paul does allow the spiritual witness to go on for a while; after a time, however, it became painful to him, even because he wished it to be known that he avoided all intercourse, even such as apparently was most serviceable to his objects, with that realm wherein the sins of heathendom had their origin and their root. Even when the Pythian spirit subordinates itself to the Most High God, and points away from itself to the message of Jesus Christ, St Paul refuses to accept its testimony of the truth, because, in Greece, this spirit had hitherto assumed the place of the Most Holy Creator Spirit, and, therefore, it must absolutely be put to silence, in order that men may be set totally free from the service of finite spirits, and be translated into the kingdom of the one only and living God.

The casting out of the spirit of divination by St Paul, was the occasion of a persecution which burst upon the Apostle and his followers. This persecution is not merely one of the few which

were occasioned by the Gentiles, as Wieseler has justly remarked (see Chronolog. des apostol. Zeitalt. S. 39), but it was also the first persecution of the kind, and both by the position it thus holds, as well as by its peculiarities, it demands of us particular consideration. For hitherto it had been only among the Jews, properly speaking, that a hatred of the Gospel had been manifested, while among the Gentiles a disposition to receive it had been very generally shewn; and wherever, in Gentile localities, any signs of hostility to it had been perceptible, there it was brought about by the first authors of that animosity. But here, in Philippi, alongside of that willingness to receive the Gospel already spoken of, there was now shown, for the first time, nothing less than an independent hostility on the part of the Gentiles, to the bearers of the Gospel, which resulted in bloody persecution. The secret foundation of this hatred is the same, whether in Jews or Gentiles;—human selfishness, which feels itself assaulted by the power of the Holy Spirit, exerting itself in the Gospel. As, in Jerusalem, the priests and the officers of the Temple, and the Sadducees found themselves checked in their avaricious designs, and in the discharge of their offices (see iv. 12;) so, in Philippi, in the case of the masters of the female slave, who was possessed by the spirit of divination, all their hope of gain had been destroyed by what St Paul had done (see ver. 19). The shape, however, which this hatred assumes among Jews or Gentiles is very different, according to the different peculiarities of each. Among the Jews this hatred assumes a religious form; among the Gentiles, however, of the Roman empire, it takes a political shape. As in Jerusalem the charge brought against Stephen was that he blasphemed God and Moses, the law and the temple; so, in Philippi, the Roman colony, they accuse Paul and his companions with teaching and spreading such customs as were opposed to the polity of the Roman empire (vv. 20, 21). We now first of all perceive why St Luke, at the very beginning of his narrative, had given such prominence to the character of the city as a colony. Just, then, as by this means the Roman stamp on Philippi was clearly pointed out at the very beginning, so in many little traits of this history is the Roman constitution brought before our eyes. The magistrates of the city are called στρατηγοί (see vv. 20, 22, 35).

This term is the one employed by the Greek translators of the Latin "Prætor;" and with this title, borrowed from the Roman polity, the magistrates of the colonial cities delighted most to adorn themselves (see Grotius and Kühnöl ad. h. l.). And to the same category belongs also the equally Roman designation of ῥαβδοῦχοι, for the Lictors in attendance on the Prætors (see vv. 35, 38), while also the punishment of scourging, with the violent stripping off their clothes, has a thoroughly Roman character (see ver. 22, cf. Grotius and Wolf ad. h. l.), and the stocks (ξύλον, ver. 24) are at least as much Roman as Greek (see Wetstein and Grotius ad. h. l.). Baur (see der Apostel Paulus, S. 156) has, therefore, seen rightly enough that in this narration, from the first mention of Philippi to the end, Roman characteristics are designedly brought forward. Only this is not done, as he maintains, from any artificial, purely subjective motive of display, but in the interest of truth and fact. Now, because the complaint which the avaricious owners of the prophesying slave make before the magistrates of Philippi was, that Paul and his companions had sought to introduce strange customs unlawful for Romans to observe, it is usual to appeal to the laws which forbad among the Romans the adoption of foreign deities and modes of worship (see Wetstein ad., ver. 21). As, however, it was precisely at this date that the mixture and combination of religions was at its full height (see Gieseler Kirchengesch. 1, 39, 40), there must, therefore, in the present case, have been something peculiar in addition, since the accusation immediately made an impression on the Prætors. This special circumstance has been correctly indicated by Bengel in the following sentence: omnia omnium philosophorum dogmata (to which we may also add) omnes omnium gentium cerimonias, mundus aut admisit aut adoptavit sed veritatis evangelicæ hic character est, ut habeat quiddam corruptioni humanæ singulariter et inimicum et invisum. Those who had been immediately alarmed by this holy earnestness of Christianity, gave vent to their bitter feelings, and thereby awakened in many others the same consciousness which had hitherto been slumbering in them. And it is precisely this that explains the rapid consequences of this complaint. In the feeling of this inward opposition to the will and working of St Paul and of the others—the violation of these regulations de religionibus illicitis (which in other circumstances

might easily have been overlooked), is taken up with such unseemly violence, exactly in the same way that in Jerusalem, by reason of a similar feeling against the meaning and spirit of Stephen, the Jews soon convinced themselves, that his testimony against the sins of Israel was in opposition to the divine ordinances of Israel. As soon as we come to consider the proceedings of the Prætors in this light of the true relation between the Gospel and human nature, we shall very soon cease to see, with Zeller, any thing inconceivable in this severity towards the two Jews (see Theolog. Jahrb. 1849, 540).

Now, the result of this hostile turn of affairs is that the might of the Roman empire, in its organised form, is called into action against the preachers of the Gospel. In the contumelious and rigorous proceedings of these Roman magistrates we discern a sad prelude to all the cruel and bloody persecutions which, for nearly three hundred years, the highest and the lowest functionaries of the Roman empire inflicted on the disciples of Jesus. As soon as we duly contemplate the position and significance of that persecution by the Gentiles of the messengers of the Gospel which is here related to us, and which, throughout the whole construction of our work is set forth distinctly enough, and which can only be overlooked through the great neglect of tracing the fundamental thought of our whole narrative, then we attain a position which will enable us to answer the doubts of modern criticism as to the truth of the following account. For ever since Baur (see der Apostel Paulus S. 151—156) and Gfrörer (see heilige Sage i. 446) have charged with untruth the narrative of the wonderful events which happened upon the imprisonment of Paul and Silas, Zeller has not been deterred even by the avowal of De Wette, that inasmuch as here one who was a bystander relates the story there is nothing mythical contained in it (what assuredly cannot be understood in Baur's sense) from making the assertion: "every one who has not sold his thoughts to the grossest belief in marvels will take offence at the miracles of the present narrative" (see Theolog. Jahrb. 1849. 538). The chief ground on which this more than bold assertion is built up is the averment already advanced by Gfrörer and worked out still more fully by Baur, that the miracle had no real object in the context of the history, and therefore absolutely can only be

a sort of display, and consequently, cannot be thought of. We, however, remember that the same argument have been brought into use by the same critics against the miraculous liberation of Peter and John in Jerusalem, and here also an explanation is ready furnished to our hand, of the perception which lies at the bottom of their argument in the latter, similar to that which we found in the former passage. What these critics remark is quite correct, that the miracles by which the doors of the prison and the chains were loosened did not set our prisoners free, but that their liberation was owing to the change of sentiment on the part of the Prætors for which no further notice is furnished. But now, supposing that the miracles here recorded do not form any connecting link in the historical series, still, as we have often experienced already, it easily might possess the significance of a Divine sign; and the closer consideration of the passage, as well as of the place which the miracle takes in the context of our story, as also its very nature, establishes the unquestionable correctness of this conjecture.

The man of Macedonia had called over Paul and his companions to their help in that desperate need in which the men of Europe were involved. Now, in Philippi, the charity of Lydia, as well as the spirit of divination of the slave, had, it is perfectly true, confirmed the truth of that manifestation. Suddenly, however, on this spot of the Apostle's labour, there was evinced exactly the same hostility, exactly the same antagonism, as had been openly shown in Judea; and, in truth, precisely that very power which here comprises and rules over all, sets itself up in opposition to the Gospel. The whole organisation of the Roman empire, from the decree of its Prætors in a remote municipal town—that echo of the city of Rome with its omnipotent decrees—down to the torturing stocks in the lowest cell of the prison, is arrayed against the Gospel of Christ. And if the preachers of the Gospel were given up to this hostile power to suffer even unto blood—nay, even to the peril of their lives; this surely had a much deeper significance than the similar sufferings in Jerusalem, in so far as the might of the Roman empire had a long future before it, whereas the power of the Sanhedrim and of Herod were fast involved in ruin and decay. No doubt those sufferings in Jerusalem were the very first that were inflicted on the Church;

here, however, we have the first instance of sufferings occasioned by that power to which the existence of the Gentile Church was placed in utter subjection. Whereas, therefore, the former afflictions were the opening and foretoken of the whole course of that endurance to which the Church of Christ was on earth to be exposed on the part of the world, the latter likewise were the beginning and type of those special persecutions which were to come on the Church of Christ in the times of the Gentiles, and consequently in the times which were commenced by the hardening of Israel, and which also are still going on. If, then, we have here an equally important beginning of afflictions to the Church, we may also venture to expect an equally obvious sign that this suffering came not merely from the secular power, but from the will of God. That the miracle we are now considering conveys this intimation to us, is shown by its whole course. First of all, the full reality and depth of the suffering inflicted on the messengers of the Gospel is brought home clearly to our minds. We are told that the scourging by the Roman Lictors was not by any means a slight one, and that it was not limited to a fixed number of stripes according to the Divine Law in Israel; but that many bloody stripes were inflicted on them (πολλὰς ἐπιθέντες αὐτοῖς πληγάς. ver. 23). Covered with these bloody wounds, they were cast into the inner prison, and their feet made fast in the torturing stocks (see Eusebius H. E. S. 1). To aggravate their pain and disgrace, there further came in the fear of what, after such severity, might await them on the next morning. But above all, in the midst of their bitter experience, the sorrowful thought must have sunk into their souls to find that not only among the Gentiles also had the same hostility begun to show itself as in Israel had been followed by such sad incalculable results; but also that the Lord had given up His own to the hostile powers of the Gentiles. But precisely because what was here in question was the beginning of that hostility and injustice which was to continue through the whole of the times immediately to follow, therefore the triumph of the Spirit over the whole weight of this oppressive suffering is set forth on this occasion the more gloriously and the more palpably. What the Apostles did during the night to which the high council had condemned them we are not told. Of Peter it is reported that, in the night

on which he was delivered out of the hand of Herod, he was sleeping, while, with regard to the Church, we learn that they wrestled in prayer without ceasing for his deliverance. What we here read is more than all this. Paul and Silas, it is said, at midnight prayed and sang praises unto God with a loud voice (ver. 13). Here is not only endurance of suffering—not merely patience and contentment in the preservation of life—but even that which Paul describes as καυχᾶσθαι ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν, and extols as the fruit of justification by faith (see Rom. v. 3, 11; cf. 2 Cor. vii. 4, xii. 10). In fact, we have here a practical proof that the triumph of the Apostle, with which, in his Epistle to the Romans, he rises in transcendent majesty above all hostile powers, of whatever kind or name they may be (see Rom. viii. 35—39) has its source not merely in thought, but in his energy and joyfulness. In these midnight hymns by the imprisoned witnesses for Jesus Christ not merely is the whole might of Roman injustice and violence against the Church set at nought, but even converted into a foil to set forth more completely the majesty and spiritual power of the Church, which as yet the world knew nothing of. And if the sufferings of these two witnesses for Christ are the beginning and the type of numberless martyrdoms which were to flow upon the Church from the same source, in like manner this unparalleled triumph of the Spirit over suffering was the beginning and the pledge of a spiritual power which we subsequently see shining forth so triumphantly and irresistibly in the many martyrs of Christ who were given up as a prey to that same imperial might of Rome (cf. Neander's Denkwurdigkeiten i. 343—374). Simply in the circumstance that the persecution of the heathen was to be transmuted into such a victory of the Spirit of Christ, that the voice of the all-conquering love of God in Christ Jesus should penetrate into the prison, and should be heard even by those whom every one regards as lost to all that is good and to all hope of redemption, is a sufficient proof that the author of this suffering was no other than God, and if the end is one so Divine, the revealed road to this end will also be made ready by God.

It must, however, be shown in yet another way, that the might of Rome has no power over Paul and Silas, but that those invested with the authority of Rome are permitted for awhile to

exercise it until the moment should arrive when they shall have ended their probation (see John xix. 11). Just when Paul and Silas, by their loud song of praise to God, had awakened their fellow prisoners, a great earthquake shook the foundations of the prison (ver. 26). And here, indeed, Baur is right in maintaining against Neander, that the latter event is not mentioned merely because it possessed a chronological connection with the thanksgiving hymn of the martyrs, but that it was intended to be regarded as a consequence of it, miraculously effected by God to whom they had raised their voice in supplication and thanksgiving (see ibid. S. 151). For, by this earthquake all the doors of the prison were thrown open and the bands of all the prisoners were loosed (ver. 26). Now in this it is distinctly involved that this event was not merely a confirmatory sign from God for the two prisoners, and for all present, as Olshausen supposes, who compares the present passage with iv. 31, and as is also held by other commentators, as by Wolf, for instance, who support their view by more unsuitable appeals to heathen sentiments. On the contrary, it is the divine means of a general liberation from the bonds and detention of the prison. As in the song of thanksgiving to God all the might of the Roman empire thus exerted against the disciples of Jesus appeared to be utterly defeated by a spiritual victory so is its impotence and nullity exhibited externally likewise by this earthquake of God's causing. If Gfrörer (ubi supra) and Zeller (ubi supra) raise objections to the possibility of this occurrence, drawn from mechanical considerations, and argue that the limbs of the prisoners must have been injured by the same earthquake which loosened the fetters of the prisoners, they give rise to a suspicion that the laws of mechanism are more thought of by them than those of hermeneutics. For by the context, however, it is made obvious enough that here it is no ordinary convulsion of the earth that is spoken of, but even such an one as, according to the will of God, should open even the doors of the prison and loosen the bonds of the captives. But now the man who, against such a will of God, testified by the entire context of the passage, and having its ground in the historical situation itself, should be disposed to believe that he is bound to allow for the effect of the laws of mechanism, would only make us suspect that he might, perhaps,

understand something of mechanics, but that of theology, on the contrary, he knew absolutely nothing.

But as in Philippi the infinite might of the Spirit above all the hostile powers of the world was manifested far more openly and more gloriously than in Jerusalem, so also in the marvellous deliverance of the prisoners, we observe an element of advance. In the marvellous annihilation of all the means which the hostile power could command, it becomes likewise apparent that the spiritual resistance of the Gentiles also was inwardly broken by this victory of the Spirit over suffering; so that we may perceive how the enmity of the world must be allowed free scope, and work itself out on the witnesses of Jesus, in order, first of all, to be completely overcome by them inwardly; and secondly, however, to be broken in the world itself, by such teaching of the Spirit and of power; and how with this victory of the Spirit in the disciples and in the world, the revelation of the righteous arm of God from Heaven will coincide. If now this development, which has already been exhibited historically in the first great struggle of the Church with the powers of the world, and which will again be revealed in the final struggle, was, for the comfort and strengthening of the Church even to the last hour of her sufferings, here ratified and sealed by Divine signs; then no one, who really has a sympathy with the standing of the Church in the world, should speak of aught being superfluous or unnecessary.

The jailor is awakened by the earthquake, and when he becomes aware of the doors of the prison being open, he adopts the obvious conclusion, that the prisoners had escaped (ver. 27), and in alarm at the very thought he seizes his sword with the intention of killing himself. Baur thinks and says "that he might as well first have gone and seen if things were really as bad as he feared" (u. s. S. 151); and Zeller (ubi supra S. 541) remarks, "he surely might have soothed himself by the thoughts of his own innocence and freedom from blame." But these two learned men do not consider that in the actual world, especially in moments of alarm and excitement such as these, people do not always go to work quite as calmly and quite so much by rule as in the world of thought and at the writing desk. Naturally enough, when he learned that all the doors of the prison were

open—a fact which, from his sleeping room he could become aware of even in the night, the charge, which had been laid upon him the day before, to keep the Jewish prisoners safe (ver. 23) immediately occurred to his mind. If the jailor had no idea but that the prisoners had made their escape by the open doors, Luke is no more answerable for it than Zeller, who, as we shall presently see, holds that any other idea, at such a moment, was altogether inadmissible. But, then, to the jailor's mind the reproachful question must have suggested itself: "Why then have you not more carefully attended to the charge that you received? Why did you not keep watch yourself?" And who will maintain that it is a thing quite inconceivable that despair should follow upon such thoughts? "But," it is asked, "how could Paul, in the lowest ward of the prison, and in the darkness of the night, become aware of the circumstances and mental state of the jailor, so as to be able, "with a loud voice," to cry unto him and to deter him (ver. 28)? I cannot see anything in this so impossible, as Zeller does. For, manifestly, the wonder-working earthquake would be followed by a whisperless silence among all the prisoners, which, moreover, would be still farther increased by the stillness of the night. But we are not to suppose that the awakened and frightened jailor would remain silent, but that he would naturally give loud vent to his solicitude, anxiety, and despair. Is it then so utterly inconceivable, that these tones, in any case so easily intelligible, should have reached the ears of Paul through the open doors, in the perfect stillness that prevailed? But how does Paul comfort the jailor? "We are all here!" "How impossible," says Zeller, "that of all the prisoners not one should have availed himself of the opportunity to escape?" But it was not without a purpose that it was remarked, that the prisoners had heard the hymn of thanksgiving, as it rose from the lips of the two Jews, their fellow-prisoners. When then, immediately afterwards, they observed the miraculous effects of the liberating earthquake upon their own chains, and on the gates of the prison, what arose at that moment to their minds was something very different from their usual thoughts and purposes. Their consciences told them that the song of praise was nothing, could be nothing less, than the operation of the Spirit of God; and their eyes and their

feelings must have assured them, that the opening of the doors and the loosing of their bonds could be the work of the omnipotence of God alone. The presence of God, which this double testimony must have made certain to the minds of the Gentiles, held them bound in silent astonishment. And this ought to serve us as a sign, that in and by means of the confessors of Jesus, the testimony of God penetrates into every sphere of heathen life, and will surely gain a hearing and an acknowledgment, even in those quarters where the influence of morality and of social ordinances have already proved in vain. While, however, we hear nothing more of the prisoners, than this first announcement of attending to the witness of God, the effectual might of conversion is set before our eyes, operating on the jailor in consequence of these miraculous facts.

The warning and soothing voice of Paul had recalled the jailor from his despair and his deadly purpose. As regards, indeed, his outward position, his mind is calmed; but within him another source of uneasiness is opened. Whether he recognised the voice of Paul or not, is a point which we may well leave undecided; the thoughts of Paul and his companion were at all events near enough to his heart. Since these two Jews had been commended the day before to his special care, the alarm and anxiety which the open doors must have occasioned him must have had for its first object the supposed flight of these two. His fear of man, however, and his anxiety vanished, as he listened to the voice from the prison; but another fear and another anxiety—an anxiety and an alarm with regard to God—has seized his soul. "If," the jailor reasons, "the doors being open, all the prisoners have nevertheless remained in prison, then something extraordinary—something miraculous, must indeed have happened." And all at once there comes before his soul, all that, on the occasion of their imprisonment, he must have heard of the speeches and doings of these two Jews, and especially of the testimony of the spirit of divination, and of its being cast out of the maiden by them. The thought passes through his heart like a stroke of lightning: These men, then, are in truth the messengers of the Most High God, and the ministers of salvation, as the soothsaying damsel testified; and no other than the Most High God with His hand has broken

their chains and their fetters. In that case, however, he must blame and reproach himself for having, as the narrative has not omitted to intimate (see ver. 24), complied so readily with the command of the Prætors, and having made it his immediate object to gratify the humour of the magistrates and of the citizens, by treating the scourged prisoners without mercy, and with so much rigour. It required, therefore, no artificial hypothesis, but merely an intelligent consideration of the given circumstances, to understand the frightened jailor's hurrying to the feet of Paul and Silas (ver. 29) ; and we can, therefore, very properly leave to itself the surprise of critics, who profess themselves to be totally unable to enter into the context. But now, is there any reason why we should wonder at the question of the jailor, and at his appeal to the apostolical men ? or shall we not rather consider it to be quite conceivable and perfectly consistent, as well that he felt a veneration for those whom both his conscience and his senses assure him are the messengers of God, as also that he felt an anxious care for salvation, as he knelt at the feet of these messengers of peace—feet which, though innocent, he had the evening before so cruelly tortured in the stocks ? But if the man was really moved by such high and earnest thoughts, there is not much reason why we should be greatly disquieted by the objection of the critics, that from this moment he entirely dismissed his previous anxiety for the security of his prisoners; especially as in such dealings with them he might consider himself pretty sure of them. The matter having, in consequence of this question, suggested by the conscience of the jailor, assumed so serious and sacred a turn, St Luke does not think it would be any longer becoming in him to stop to give a particular report of what was done with the open doors, and the loosened fetters of the other prisoners. Now, for the first time, from the mouth of a Gentile, had an earnest inquiry after personal salvation—for the emancipation of the soul from the upbraidings of conscience, and from the wrath of God, here sounded forth, just as formerly it did in Jerusalem after the holy events of Pentecost (see ii. 37). It is, therefore, nowise surprising if St Luke directs his own and the reader's attention exclusively to that which, both in sequence and connection, possessed an immediate reference to this question. Naturally,

St Paul could give no other answer to the question of the Gentile than St Peter had formerly given to the Jews, when they consulted him. The brief reply, "Believe on the Lord Jesus," must clearly have been intelligible to the jailor, since it admits not of doubt that the significance of this holy name could not have remained unknown to him, after all that had fallen under his notice with regard to the prisoners. The only point that is really startling is that St Paul should make, as he does, the promise of salvation to his house dependent on the faith of the jailor. No doubt Paul, as is self-evident, cannot have thought that this communion of salvation was dependent on anything else than community of belief; but how then comes he to assume, without further inquiry, the existence of this community of faith? As we are forthwith told that he preached the word of the Lord not merely to the jailor, but also to his household (ver. 32); therefore we must assume, that the members of his family had in the meantime not only assembled—what, under the existing circumstances was only what was to be expected—but that they also had evinced the same disposition as the master of the house, —so that St Paul, encouraged by this sight, as well as by what he had experienced in the house of Lydia, and, lastly, by the miracle that had so recently been wrought, indulges the hope that the faith of the master of the house would determine all the members of his family to imitate it. The effect upon his hearers of this preaching, which raised the vague impression into a definite and certain conviction, was such, that first of all the jailor washed the stripes of his prisoners, and thereby did them the first act of kindness they had met with amidst their sufferings. Accordingly the jailor—for this evidently lies at the bottom of this trait, as what it essentially implies—had embraced the word of the Lord in faith, and, in the midst of his anxiety, had received therefrom perfect peace of mind; and he now feels himself in the assured possession of salvation. Now, however, his conscience will not allow him a moment's rest, until, so far as lay in his power, he shall have made good again all the cruel injustice he had committed on the messengers of peace. Meyer, and after him De Wette, take it for granted that the jailor had led Paul and Silas out of the house unto a pond, in order to wash their stripes. This, however, is not by any means con-

tained in the text, for the ἔξω of ver. 30, according to the context of the passage, alludes to his leading them out of their cell; while παραλαβών, of ver. 33, does not in any case imply a change of place. No doubt this washing was not performed in what was properly the dwelling-house of the jailor, as is shewn by ver. 34. But according to the usual arrangements in such buildings, it is not the open space, but the various cells of the prison, that we must oppose to his residence. As, then, there is no mention of their being led out into the open air, we cannot venture to assume the fact, since, if it had taken place in the night time, it would surely have been mentioned as something singular. Meyer, too, it is probable, only adopted this idea because mention is made of baptism in the same passage, and it was not usual to administer baptism elsewhere than in the open air. But here we must not overlook the fact, that in this case the jailor's washing the Apostles evidently furnished the occasion of his own baptism, which was not originally within the scope of the jailor's purpose. But of itself the mere act of washing—apart from other circumstances—invariably leads us to think of a room in a house, and not of the open air.

Since, then, the Apostles recognised in the whole conduct of the jailor the working of faith, they, on their part, were unwilling to delay a moment, or to allow the thought, that it was the midnight, to restrain them from imparting to the jailor and all his the seal of the grace of God by baptism. The note of Bengel on this is: ἔλουσεν lavit ἐβαπτίσθη baptizatus est; pulcrâ vice. This reciprocation of kind offices is also manifested in the circumstance that with a part of the same water, as that with which the Apostles were relieved of their shame and of the pain of their stripes, the keeper of the prison and all his were baptized.

This circumstance is so far remarkable (and especially instructive with reference to the obstinate positions of the Baptists) as that both the place and the time force upon us the conclusion that in this instance baptism must have taken place without the observance of the usual external circumstantials—without, for instance, the dipping of the whole body in the open, running water—and, consequently, we have here already an approximation, under the sanction of the Apostles, to the later custom of simplifying the ceremonial.

His baptism confirms the jailor in the course he had already entered upon, and in the conviction that it is his first duty to make all possible amends to the messengers of peace for the wrong he had done them. In this frame of mind the doubt whether the Prætors would be pleased with his conduct causes him no anxiety; he follows the inmost impulse of his heart, and takes Paul and Silas into his own dwelling, and prepares his table for them (ver. 34) with the view of refreshing their bodies, exhausted by persecution and scourging. And whilst, with such services, he makes bold to repair his former wrongs, he with all his house (who share in all his feelings) is joyful and of good heart. However, the ultimate cause of his joy is not these kind offices, but the fact that he has been put into the condition of a believer in God (πεπιστευκὼς τῷ θεῷ). This, therefore, is the second house that, in the Roman city of Philippi, has been consecrated by faith in Jesus, and of which the inmates, by hospitable entertainment of the Gospel witnesses, have been sanctified to a new beginning of domestic life, pleasing and acceptable to God.

By the conversion of a whole family and the sanctification of an entire household, (such as had been significantly prefigured by the conversion of the first fruits among the Gentiles,) which occurs, for the first time, in the course of our history, in Philippi, the Gospel strikes its root into the soil of nature, and thereby secures to itself on this soil a development no less deeply moving than lasting. Upon this point we have further to bear in mind, that the first result of this kind came to pass in consequence simply of the preaching of the Gospel, but that the second, on the other hand, was the fruit of a testimony sealed and ennobled by suffering. This latter circumstance is necessarily so much the more remarkable as in it the true pendant to the preaching of the Gospel in Jerusalem, is, for the first time, brought to light. Scarcely, can we discover a single trustworthy vestige of any special results and effects obtained by the shedding of the innocent blood of those holy martyrs St Stephen and St James in the Holy City. The wholesome fruits of those sufferings turned out to the advantage, not of Jerusalem, but of other places. The soil in Judea and Jerusalem was so lean and barren that not even the sacred blood of martyrs could render it fruitful. And since also we have not as yet seen any further results from the sufferings

of Paul and Barnabas in Antioch and Lystra, than that the disciples, already won, were not frightened away again by such troubles which seemed inseparable from the Gospel, but were on the contrary strengthened by them in the faith ; so also it is in Philippi that we have exhibited to us the first pervading contrast to the hardening of the Jews. We now know that when we hear of a disposition on the part of the Gentiles to receive the Gospel, we must not so understand it as to suppose that all that hostility to the principles of the Gospel which is inherent in human nature would forthwith be overcome by the preaching of the Gospel ; a power, however, is shown to us therein sufficient to render vain and impotent all existing and actual hostility—even the might of innocent and joyful suffering in testimony to the truth in Jesus, which is able to transform the instruments employed to afflict and torture the witnesses of the Gospel into their benefactors—the houses of the impure and unrighteous heathendom into temples and sanctuaries of God. If anywhere the Gospel had a prospect of becoming a permanently transforming power, it was in such associations, amidst such circumstances. We must remember that Philippi is the first city of the European quarter of the world that the preaching of the Gospel touched at on its journey from Jerusalem unto the ends of the world ; and that this city is, from the very first, set before us by St Luke as completely furnished with the signature of the men of Europe of those days. As the conversion of Lydia and her house, so again the conversion of the keeper of the prison and all his, must have recalled to the minds of St Paul and his companions the vision in Troas of the man of Macedonia, and it must have opened to them a still further insight into its deep significance. If, however, the Greek commentators are of opinion that the keeper of the prison is identical with the disciple mentioned in 1 Cor. i. 16 ; xvi. 15 and 17 ; under the name of Stephanas, that is evidently a mistake. For Paul calls the house of Stephanas the first-fruits of Achaia ; now since the Apostle, like the Romans themselves, makes a distinction between Achaia and Macedonia (see Rom. xv. 26 ; 1 Thess. 1—7), he cannot, consequently, reckon the keeper of the prison in Philippi in Macedonia among the natives of Achaia.

But before Paul proceeds further, we have another incident

reported of his residence in the first Roman colony of Macedonia, which is highly remarkable both with regard to the present and to the future. As soon as it was day, the magistrates send their Lictors to the jailor commanding him to liberate the Jewish prisoners. What could have moved them to adopt a course so entirely inconsistent with their proceedings on the previous day? The news of the nocturnal miracle, as Meyer and de Wette conjecture, which, as Neander subjoins, was probably carried to them by the report of the jailor. In such a case, however, one must, with Baur, (see Apostel Paulus S. 152, 153), look upon it as very improbable that a narrative like St Luke's, which generally gives such full and correct reports, should have given us no hint whatever about this effect of the nocturnal incident, whether effected in this way or otherwise. The opinion, too, that they might perhaps by further inquiry have become better informed about the Apostles, has justly been pronounced improbable by Zeller (see ibid. S. 540). But why should not the matter be taken precisely in the way that St Luke has stated it? And he has given no reasons, even because there were none for him to give. During the night those motives for severity by which the day before the magistrates had been influenced in consequence of the selfish and passionate complaints of those who had been deprived of their vile gains, had lost their force; for they could not well have taken a very deep root in their minds. What a difference between the hostile magistrates in Philippi, and the persecuting Sanhedrim in Jerusalem! The latter desist not, even though they see signs and wonders—not even when the visible hand of God had delivered the Apostles out of their power: the former, on the contrary, let the prisoners go even before the signs and wonders that had taken place have come to their knowledge. From this we should draw the inference, that even though the Gentile hatred puts on the guise of the constitution of Imperial Rome, and thereby eventually turns out a bloody persecution of the Church, this hostility and persecution, however, does not at once assume the obstinate and unyielding character which, under the pretext of zeal for God and His kingdom, persecution and hostility in Israel had taken up in rapid development. While, therefore, from the hostility of the Jews, we at once receive an impression that the Church of Christ and the Synagogue of the

Jews, cannot and will not dwell together under one roof; the hostility of the Gentiles nevertheless has such a look that we can well imagine, that under the protection of the Roman constitution, as in a hospice, the community of the faithful will gain liberty and room enough to unfold and to diffuse itself both inwardly and outwardly. And this prospect is to our minds confirmed in the most distinct manner possible, by what immediately follows.

Paul, namely, appeals to his Roman citizenship, and demands as a satisfaction for his wrongs that the Prætors should themselves come and liberate from the prison those whom they had so unjustly punished (ver. 37). And in fact, this speech makes such an impression on the Roman authorities that they willingly condescend to make them full compensation in this way (vv. 38, 39). The question, how St Paul acquired his Roman citizenship, is at present considered quite settled by the assumption, that his father, or some other ancestor, had acquired it in some way or other, and had left it to him by inheritance (cf. xxii. 18; see Meyer ad. loc). How Silas, moreover, whom St Paul joins with himself in his appeal to this right of citizenship, may have acquired it, must naturally be left undecided. If, however, St Paul was conscious of having been designed and set apart from his mother's womb to be a preacher of the Gospel (see Gal. i. 15), it undoubtedly results from the passage we are now considering, that when he so spake, he also had in view the fact, that by birth he was the son of a Roman citizen. The universal importance of this his peculiar privilege, becomes especially apparent in this passage. Wetstein evidently cannot reconcile it to himself, that Paul and Silas did not at once appeal to the rights they enjoyed. For since he maintained it to be the indispensable duty of every man to make use of his just rights, and since he saw an exercise of his right in the above-quoted message to the Prætors, it was a conclusion he could hardly have helped arriving at, that Paul had allowed the proper moment for the fulfilment of this duty to go by. Wetstein has left the matter to rest on its own merits. Baur, on the contrary, considers that this omission of the appeal to the rights of citizenship, at the moment when the act of injustice was committed, is so inexplicable, that no expedient appears to him to be available, but that uni-

versal solvent for all biblical difficulties—the assumption, namely, of some of those latent objects which the system of modern criticism is so liberal in supplying. Paul and Silas, it is plain, they say, must have renounced all hope of benefitting by the law, in order to be able afterwards to shine forth in as glorious a light as the Apostles in Jerusalem, and in order that the Canon for the interpretation of the whole book—the parallelising, viz., of Peter and Paul—might in this point also be observed. In fact, however, the truth of the case does not in this instance lie very far off from this caricature-like distortion of it. We have only to substitute for "the thoughts of the author," the thoughts of St Paul, and in the place of "the low views of the book," to set the high counsels of God. As the Lord had at his very call revealed to St Paul, that suffering for His name's sake would constitute an essential part of what would form his labours (see ix. 16), it is quite conceivable, that the Apostle, when he saw himself threatened, on the part of the Gentiles also, should have been immediately reminded of the prediction which had thus been given him, and of his divinely-revealed destination; and that, accordingly, he should have cheerfully made up his mind to undergo the sufferings which were impending over him. Wetstein must, therefore, pardon him, if, at this moment he did not bethink himself of the possibility of warding off persecution, by an appeal to his privileges as a Roman citizen. But the case was very different, when it had been shewn that the force of injustice and persecution had been broken. After this practical declaration on God's part, St Paul was authorised and bound in duty to make an appeal to the law, and to awaken, especially in the authorities who had perpetrated the wrong, a consciousness of having acted unjustly in their passionate proceedings against himself. When, therefore, St Paul had sufficiently evinced his willingness to suffer, and when the end of that suffering had been brought about by God himself, we cannot see, as Zeller does (ibid. S. 541), in his appeal to the law, any contradiction to his confession (1 Cor. iv. 11, &c.); since this appeal is as little selfish as that resignation, but both the one and the other rest equally on submission to the will and disposal of God. Moreover, how correctly and precisely St Paul in this passage understands and expresses the privilege of Roman citizenship, is shewn by the fol-

lowing competent statements which Grotius has adduced on the passage. Cicero: causa cognita possunt multi absolvi, incognita nemo condemnari potest. Tacitus: inauditi atque indefensi tanquam innocentes perierant. Moreover, the scourging of a Roman citizen, in any case, was forbidden by the leges Porciæ et Semproniæ (see Grotius ad. v. 37). But that by this appeal to his rights as a Roman citizen, St Paul should have made so strong an impression on the Prætors of the city, would surely not have caused any surprise to Baur (ibid. S. 154) and to Zeller (ibid.), had they not attributed too great weight to their own hypothesis, to be able, calmly and duly, to estimate the force of such an appeal, by the well-known words of Cicero: illa vox et imploratio: civis Romanus sum, quæ saepe multis in ultimis terris opem inter barbaros et salutem tulit (see Wetstein ad. v. 37).

But just as the result of the voluntary suffering of St Paul was no merely personal one, so the inforcing of his rights does not attain to a personal significance, so much as it sets up a sign for the future highly deserving of consideration. The very circumstance that, by this appeal to Roman privileges, the Praetors were made to humble themselves before the despised Jews, is a proof that in this law there was an inherent power and principle of order which necessarily subjected to itself all arbitrary fancies and subjective caprices of individuals; and that this power and principle of order was able to crush, and to bring into subjection every disposition and proceeding on the part of the Gentiles, however hostile to the Gospel. On one occasion even Jesus, when he stood before the Sanhedrim appealed to the law (see John xviii. 23); but we are not told that this appeal had any effect. We have further seen that the Apostles, when brought before the Sanhedrim, appealed to the highest and holiest principles of law and order; but by so doing, they did not lessen, but rather aggravated their sufferings. In these cases, however, there is such perversity and malice that the passion of individuals turns to its own use the rights and laws of the people. Among them, therefore, there was no abiding status for the Church of Christ. "The first shall be last, and the last shall be first.' The law of Moses, and the Sanhedrim of Israel, must be made instruments of cruelty and persecution for the witnesses of Jesus Christ, and on the other hand, the ordinances of the Roman

empire, which is the sternest and most cruel of all the empires of the world, must secure them both compensation for wrongs, and even safety against the very representatives of that law and order. Even from this point of view, it again becomes clear that yet again Babylon was destined to become a place of safety for the chosen of the Lord, while Jerusalem should be the spot where those who rejected him should have their dwelling (see Jer. xxiv.)

Since, then, by means of the majesty of the empire of Rome, St Paul and his companions had secured an honourable and safe dissmissal, they therefore once more assembled the brethren in the house of Lydia for the purpose of delivering to them their last exhortation. This assembly of believers in the house of Lydia was the first Church that had been founded in Europe. In order to depict to us the character of this Church of Philippi under all its aspects, St Luke has given us the historical ground for that incomparably hearty relation which subsisted between the Apostle and this community, which finds an utterance in the canonical Epistle to the Philippians, whom he calls "his joy and his crown" (see iv. 1. cf. Weisinger's Commentary S. 5). Paul himself does not, it is true avow this reason; but we know (what from his whole naturally humane and biblically divine mode of thinking could not but be expected) that he had directed to these first-fruits of his Apostolical labours an eye of love and attention (cf. Rom. xvi. 5; 1 Cor. xvi. 15). Judging, then, from the relations which subsisted between St Paul and St Luke, we may without doubt ascribe the intentional distinction thus given to the stay of St Paul in Philippi, as it stands out so unmistakeably in the narrative of St Luke, to the views and feelings of the Apostle himself.

§ 27. ST PAUL IN EUROPEAN GREECE.

(Chap. xvii. 1—xviii. 17.)

After the Gospel had gained a firm footing in the Roman colonial-city of Macedonia, and in this way the first-fruits of the people of Europe, to whom the immediate hopes and future of the Church pointed, had been brought in, St Paul was able to

follow the impulse given him from without, and to proceed further on the path of his great vocation. But ever since his last stay in Asia Minor, and since the experience he had had in Philippi, he must have comprehended, still more distinctly than before, the wide extent and the remote end of his labours; we cannot consequently wonder if, in his further progress along the sea coast, he did but pass through Amphipolis and Apollonia without making any long stay in those places (ver 1). But that he was far from thinking that, with the results he had gained at Philippi, he had done in Macedonia all that was required by his vocation, is most clearly implied in the fact that it was a man of Macedonia who had called him over, and that, therefore, he must have presumed that even though this vision was to be regarded as a representative of the western nations generally, yet to Macedonia, nevertheless, pertained a special interest in the invitation contained in this phenomenon. On this ground, therefore, as he travels on, he makes two further halts in the Macedonian province; first in Thessalonica, and secondly in Berea. What attraction it was that drew him to Thessalonica, a city which he arrived at likewise while pursuing the same direction towards the sea coast, is at once intimated by St Luke, by the explanation he gives: ver. 1, *ὅπου ἦν ἡ συναγωγὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, the significance of which has been rightly discerned, and set forth by Bengel and Grotius. On this point, the former remarks: articulus additus (*ἡ συναγωγή*) significat Philippis, Amphipoli et Apolloniæ nullas fuisse synagogas, sed siqui ibi essent Judæi, eos synagogam adiisse Thessalonicensem). If, on his arrival in Macedonia, St Paul allowed himself to be attracted in the first instance by the Roman element, we have, in the course of the historical development, found that there was ample justification for so doing. But that neither the call unto the nations of the isles, which he received in Troas, nor even the ratification thereof which he had gained in Philippi, did or could divert the Apostle from his original course and order of proceeding, of turning, namely, first of all to the Jews, and then to the Gentiles, we may clearly perceive from this remark about Thessalonica. It is true, in Thessalonica we shall never be able to bring ourselves to suppose, that Paul directed his views exclusively to the synagogue. On the contrary, there is little, if any doubt, that the probability con-

stantly floated before him, that in this synagogue he would not fare any better than he had formerly done in Antioch; however, the more he had, in Philippi, allowed himself to be attracted by the Roman element, the greater was the necessity pressing upon him to shew that, on this European territory also, he acknowledged and gave due weight to the Divine Jewish element of the synagogue.

It does not, therefore, surprise us, if, in Thessalonica, St Paul, with special perseverance, turns first of all to the synagogue; insomuch, that for three Sabbath-days following, he reasoned with the Jews (ver. 2). The proof, which in the synagogue he adduced from the Scriptures, falls, as St Luke remarks, under two heads: 1st, The general proof, that, according to the purport of Scripture, the Messiah must needs suffer, and rise again from the dead; and, 2nd, The pointing out how this Messianic character existed in Him whom Paul preached (ver. 3). I share with De Wette the opinion, that the combination of ὁ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, which here occurs so frequently, ought not to be broken even here, although the majority of interpreters think that, for the sake of the sense, they must needs assume this to have been the case. For there are two reasons why the name Ἰησοῦς can furnish a predicable notion just as much as χριστὸς: 1st, This name, that is to say, which in its simple appellative signification, was very familiar to the Israelitish mind, is first used in the New Testament with a precise reference to this meaning (see Matt. i. 21). 2dly, Just as the imperfections of the anointed Priest and King in the Old Testament at once required and predicted the perfect Christ for the times of the fulfilment, so with the same constraining force did that inadequacy of the Saviour of the Old Testament, Joshua, which the book called after his name so distinctly shews (cf. Heb. iv. 8), point onwards to the true and perfect Jesus. The name Jesus, therefore, has the same historical basis in the Old Testament, and consequently, also, the same full significance as a predicate, as is generally conceded to the title ὁ χριστός.

The result, however, of these labours of St Paul, proves that, just as even on an European soil, admits the Divine prerogatives of the Jews in reference to the preaching of the Gospel, no less than he did on Asiatic ground; so the Jews on

this, as well as on that side of the sea, harden themselves. By the Apostolical testimony to Christ, a few Jews are moved to believe and to consort with St Paul and Silas. But that this rejection of the Gospel on the part of the majority of the Jews was destined to open the door of preaching to the Gentiles, becomes here also immediately apparent. For that, in the reasoning of the Apostle, the fault lay not at all with the demonstration of the Spirit and of power, but rather with the defective susceptibility of the Jews, is proved by the great results which attended it among the pious Gentiles who attended the synagogue, both men and women (ver. 4). However, it was not possible that the alienation of the Jews from the Gospel should for one moment stop at this point. Here, too, as on a former occasion in Asia, they must carry out their aversion, by open hostility and persecution. By appealing to the base people, who idly hung about the market place, the Jews stirred up an uproar in the city; and when, in the house of Jason, who had lodged Paul and his companions, they could not find the objects of their hatred, who, for some reason or other, were absent, they dragged the owner of the house, and others of the brethren, before the magistrates. We now learn what were the means by which the equally hated Jews were able to raise up so great commotion, and to excite the passions of the Gentiles. As formerly, in their violent rage against Jesus, the Jews in Jerusalem, when the Roman Procurator was disposed to milder measures, raised the cry, "We have no king but Cæsar" (see John xix. 15), so the Jews of Thessalonica, in their exasperation at the testimony of Jesus, likewise goad on the authorities of the Gentile city, by assuming, for motives of their own, an appearance of zeal for the institutions of the Roman empire, and by joining themselves to Cæsar against Jesus the King of Israel, whom they represent as the rival of the Emperor. Accordingly it is no wonder, if in writing to the Church of Thessalonica, St Paul should say of the Jews there that they had joined themselves to their brethren who had slain Jesus and the prophets (see 1 Thess. ii. 15, 16). For not only do the two incidents present a certain general resemblance, but the Jews of Thessalonica, in common with their countrymen of Judea, adopt the leading and essential principle of the national rebellion against God. For in both cases they despise not only the author of all

salvation, who is the only solace and the only hope of Israel in eternity, but they also betray their own king and court for the sovereign of that secular polity, which, when measured by the standard of their own holy history and Divine Scriptures, they might have known to be opposed to God, and which, from their own daily experience, they must have felt to be that which enslaved and corrupted Israel. Now, that the Jews should discern in the Church an element of antagonism to the Roman polity, needs not, as is done by Olshausen, to be referred to any special tendency in Thessalonica; since the occasion for such a supposed opposition was furnished by the simple faith in Jesus as the king of Israel and the Gentiles. The kingdom of Jesus was not, it is true, of this world, and he disputed not an inch of territory with the Emperor of Rome. But, inasmuch as he set up His throne in the hearts of men, the probability, no doubt, was furnished of a collision arising between his rule and the rule of the Roman Emperors; namely, in those cases where the will and commands of the Emperor of Rome should clash with the will and command of Jesus Christ. And this was a possibility which evidently would become the likelier to occur, in proportion as the Emperor, after the manner of the rulers of this world, should seek to make himself master both of body and soul—of faith and conscience. This collision which, within the Roman empire, appeared no less unheard of and inconceivable than of old it had in the Chaldean and in the Medo-Persian court, was, in later times, brought to light often enough (see Neander's Denkwürdigkeiten i. 280—290). The Jews must have clearly discerned which of these conflicting claims was the right and the Divine one; but they turn this knowledge into a devilish wisdom (cf. James iii. 15). For, taking advantage of their insight into this deep and pervading relation of the Gospel to the Romish polity, they impress it on the minds of the, as yet, unprejudiced Gentiles in the shape of an evil suspicion. When they describe the disciples as those who had turned the world upside down (ver. 6), they do not go beyond this their position; with perfect definiteness they recognize in the evangelical testimony, that very principle which must eventually lead to the subversion of the existing order of things; and in the light of this perception, they regard whatever had been done in the train of the Gospel as it marched on its

course from the east to the west. And surely we need do no more than express our conviction that, before this view of these words, which is implied by the very context, the assertion advanced by Baur (see Apostel Paulus S. 482) and by Zeller (see theolog. Jahrb. 1849. S. 543) that it involves an unhistorical anachronism, falls of itself to the ground.

That, with these malicious suggestions of suspicion, the Jews did not fail in making the desired impression, is as little surprising in Thessalonica, as that in Philippi the Gentiles, whom the miracle wrought by St Paul had provoked, should have succeeded in gaining the ear of their fellow-townsmen by similar insinuations. Here, as well as there, the same general causes were at work. Moreover, from several allusions in the first Epistle to the Thessalonians (see i. 6, ii. 2, iii. 4, 5), we see that this persecution was neither the only one nor the first. For there is not the slightest hint in the narrative itself that St Paul spent no more than three weeks in Thessalonica, as Olshausen thinks. The labours of the Apostle on the three Sabbaths in the Synagogue were followed, we may well suppose, by similar labours among the Gentiles, of which, as had been the case in Antioch, the obduracy of the Jews had furnished the occasion. And when we compare the statements in the epistle abovenamed, this possibility will rise into a probability (see Wieseler Chronologie des Apostol. Zeitalters S. 40). In consequence of the growing intensity of the hatred of the Jews, the Church which was here collected together assumed more and more distinctly the character of a Gentile community. In this respect it is of importance to observe that Thessalonica was not merely the seat of the Jewish Synagogue, but at the same time also one of the chief towns in the province of Macedonia, and the seat of a Roman Prætor (see Winer bibl. Realwört. ii. 608). To this eminent political rank and importance of the city (which, without doubt, Paul had from the very first in his eye) corresponds also the pre-eminence and rank of the Church founded in it. Its opposition to the Jews allowed the depth of the spirituality of the evangelical faith and life to come home more clearly to the mind, and to attain to a more distinct shape. But as, on the part of the Gentiles also, there was no want of opposition to the Church—created in the main by the hostile activity

of the Jews, which we have already spoken of (see 1 Thess. ii. 14); so on the other hand, again, they must have been the more careful to allow the hiddenness of the new life to stand out more distinctly and more consciously in contrast to the forms and customs of heathendom. Paul had the joy of seeing the Church put forth rich and glorious blossoms, so that he was even able to call this Church his crown of rejoicing (see 1 Thess. ii. 19). In the further course of time, however, symptoms of the peculiar danger to which the rapidly flourishing Gentile Church was every where exposed, shewed themselves here also, like those which we have already seen on the first diffusion of the Gospel in Samaria. The second Epistle to the Thessalonians, which was composed not long after the first, indicates but too clearly that these dangers broke out in the infant Church at Thessalonica within a very short time (see iii. 6, 10, 14, 15). This fact deserves mention here, in order to let the peculiarity of the community at Philippi, and its character as a Church of the first fruits, stand out the more distinctly, and the better to ensure to it that place which is assigned to it by St Luke. If we ask, why is it that Philippi not only made a glorious beginning, but also persevered, so that even as late as the Apostle's imprisonment at Rome it could still be called "the crown and joy of the Apostle?" we are referred once more to those two incomparable stable pillars of the Philippian Church—the two households sanctified by faith.

Here also the persecution which had broken out became the occasion for St Paul and his companions to proceed further. Since, in ver. 10, Timothy is not mentioned, it has therefore been assumed that Timothy, who had not been with the others an object of the persecuting rage of the multitude (cf. v. 4), remained behind for a while in Thessalonica (see Neander Geschichte der Pflanzung i. 244). This conjecture derives further probability also from the fact, that in both the Epistles to this Church, Timothy is mentioned together with Paul and Silvanus. But as there is nothing in the report we have to cause us to conclude that Timothy acquired this place in their regard during the founding of the Church, he must have gained it subsequently to the removal of the two others. Now, if we look to the beginning of this chapter we remark a difference of style, for the

narrative is no longer carried on in the first person; and we therefore are disposed to conclude that St Luke had remained behind in Philippi. Now, as at this third station of the labourers in the Gospel in Europe some of the helpmates of St Paul are spoken of as staying behind the others (see v. 14), we consequently perceive that the staying behind of one or more of the Apostle's assistants in the Churches newly founded on European ground had become a formal maxim, and this circumstance leads us further to conclude that the object of this regulation was to lay a lasting and permanent foundation. Even in this respect Philippi has an advantage. The companions of Paul were able to remain and work there a considerable time, whereas Thessalonica and Berea were doomed to be quickly deprived of the presence of Timothy and Silas.

That the founding even of a second Church in Macedonia did not satisfy St Paul, and that he considered himself bound by the call he had received at Troas to tarry yet longer in Macedonia, we see in the fact that he again made a halt at Berea, a town situated at no great distance from Thessalonica (ver. 10). To this spot he was likewise attracted by the presence of a Synagogue, as is clear from the circumstance that his entering the Synagogue is reported as the first thing calling for notice that he did in Berea (see ver. 10). The Apostle has here the great satisfaction of meeting at last with such Jews as readily allowed themselves to be guided to that way to which he would fain lead all his countrymen. For we are told "they searched the Scriptures daily whether those things were so" as St Paul said (ver. 11). Of this readiness to submit to the Apostle's guidance, it is a necessary consequence that many of them believed (ver. 12). This experience must have been to the Apostle a great joy and strengthening in the difficult and painful work of his vocation. Berea is the first Synagogue in which he finds willing listeners and rapid faith. It is true this circumstance in the rise of the Church at Berea may have been the reason why, subsequently, we hear little, or rather nothing more of it; and why this Church is the only one among those founded by Paul in Europe to which no Epistle of the Apostle has come down to us. The persecutions, namely, to which the believers in Jerusalem and Judea were exposed, and which at last became too powerful for them,

were naturally present also for the believers in Berea; and we have no reason for ascribing to the latter more strength than to the former. We necessarily, therefore, look upon it as very probable that the Jewish branch of the Church soon began to wither, that its individual sound members found severally a resting place elsewhere. It is true there was also in the Church at Berea a considerable portion of believing Gentiles; but as in this city these Gentiles did not, as elsewhere, become believers in opposition to the Jews, but as included in them; they also would scarcely have possessed strength enough in themselves to guard against a corruption proceeding from the same source. Accordingly, all leads us to the inference that the great joy and astonishment, which was prepared for St Paul in the Synagogue of Berea, was subsequently changed into the same bitterness, which it was his lot to taste in everything that accrued to him from Israel. However, this late experience does not prevent the fact of the conversion of a number of Jews in Berea, strengthening him at the time in his hope, that, in spite of the obduracy decreed upon Israel, it was still possible to win individuals by the testimony of Jesus—which hope alone could have supported him in the duty of carrying the Gospel in every place first of all to the hardened Jews. And as little could that which subsequently befel the Church at Berea, have withheld Paul from regarding this Church as the third plantation of God in Macedonia, and from adopting here also the precaution (which, moreover, on account of the danger alluded to, may have been more necessary here than elsewhere) of not leaving the community entirely to itself. Whereas, in the other places, one only of the companions of the Apostle was usually left behind, in Berea Paul leaves Silas and also Timothy, who, in the meanwhile, had joined him again from Thessalonica, for the confirmation of the work which had been begun. Moreover, the first trial for the Church of Berea clearly arose from the hostility and persecution of the Jews emanating from Thessalonica (ver. 13). For, whereas the Church of the Gentiles must in many respects have been strengthened and purified by the opposition of the Jews; for the Jewish Churches, on the other hand, the hatred (which was continually growing deeper and more universal) of Jesus and his Church, which their whole nation cherished, was so sharp a

probation that only a very few were able to indure it (cf. Heb. v. 11—14).

The brethren at Berea sent away Paul in the direction towards the sea (ver. 14). It is accordingly probable that the Apostle, in continuing his journey, proceeded by sea (see Neander Geschichte der Pflanzung u. s. w. i. 245; Wieseler Chronologie des Apostel Zeitalters S. 42, 43; Winer Grammatik d. neutes. Sprache, S. 702). At any rate we see that Paul now at last takes his departure from Macedonia, and with the determination to apply himself to another sphere of Apostolical labours, the idea of proceeding on his journey by sea, harmonizes in the best degree possible. Now, at length, after having founded three Churches in Macedonia, the Apostle believed he had done enough, in compliance with the call he had received to go to that province. In that case, the question must have arisen to his mind, whether, as previously in his missionary travels in Asia Minor, he ought again to return to the first starting point of the Gospel, or for a time to proceed still further with his labours. If the vision of Macedonia had possessed no other than a strictly geographical signification, then to return would most clearly have been the duty of St Paul. From the very first, however, we saw in the name of Macedonia a far wider sense determined by its Scriptural and historical use. By his operations in Macedonia St Paul had already come into contact and formed relations with the two leading influences of western life;—the power of Rome and the civilisation of Greece. And by this time it must have become clear to his mind, that, for the scene of his labours, he had been primarily and chiefly referred to the great region of these influences; as also he would have arrived at the conviction that it was within this sphere that lay the immediate future of the Church of Christ. Accordingly he felt certain that he ought not to return until, by means of his preaching, he had acquired a firm and lasting footing in these lands for the new life; and it is assuredly only what was naturally to be expected, if after his sojourn in Macedonia, he betook himself to the proper seat of Hellenic life—the province of Achaia. But now the province of Achaia has two centres, an intellectual and a political capital—the former in Athens, the latter in Achaia. Can we not enter into the sentiments of the Apostle if he felt himself attracted first of all to Athens? If, even on the

purely natural mind, the Roman character makes a less favourable and less winning impression than the Hellenic, this must have been the case in a still greater degree with the national Israelitish sentiment of the Apostle, who, not only in his own native land, but also in his own earliest experience, must have felt the heavy burden of the Roman power. And we can also well understand how he could have indulged the hope that he might find there a new station for his evangelical preaching, which would be rich in results. As upon his departure from Berea, our report mentions only the sea as the direction of his journey, we may therefore assume that it was while at sea that he formed the design of visiting Athens; and that, therefore, he sent back by the companions of his voyage on their return a notification to Timothy and Silas, which at his departure from Berea could not have as yet entered into his mind (ver. 15). For if, as Schneckenburger imagines, Paul's injunction to Silas and Timothy to come to him to Athens with all speed, evidently implied that he did not expect to find in Athens any very favourable soil for his work, and therefore had designed quickly to depart again from it (see Neander ibid p. 259), to me, however, the very contrary seems to be more probable. For the desire to have his comrades with him, would naturally be strongest and most urgent in the spot where he knew himself to be properly placed in the sphere of his work. It is in this sense also that I understand the waiting of the Apostle which is spoken of in ver. 16. As long as the Apostle was alone, he was unwilling to undertake the great work—the attack on this citadel of a peculiar form of heathenism. Let us only realise to ourselves what an arduous undertaking it must have been for St Paul, a person totally unknown, of no prepossessing exterior, a member of the despised nation of the Jews, to be the very first to advance through the thousand years' night of heathendom, and at length to stand up to defy it in that very seat of heathenism where pride in their intellectual advantages which undoubtedly did exist was still greater than even those advantages themselves. And we shall find it to be quite conceivable if, in his loneliness, St Paul should, in such circumstances, have longed for the society of his friends. If even in the present day the Christian feels dismay at the dismal horrors and mysteries of the Brahmannical system (see Sir Emerson Tennent's Christianity in Ceylon, translated

into German by Zenker 56—59), after the night of heathendom has now for so many centuries been broken through, how incalculably more terrible and more powerful must the magic power of Greek heathenism have appeared to the spiritual eye of St Paul?

St Paul employs the period of his lonely sojourn in Athens in viewing the city. Athens presented to the observer an extraordinary multitude of objects. The Apostle did but follow therein a true natural instinct of human nature. It is true, the result of this observation is no merely human and natural one, but is even Christian and Apostolical; not wonder and pleasure in the grandeur and multitude of its innumerable works of art (see Jacobi's Vermischte Schriften iii. 428, 429, 487), but indignation at the idolatrous worship of the city which met him at every turn. In the profound indignation of his soul at the idolatrous character of the works of art in this city, there is not, as will presently be shown, any denial involved of the existence of a lofty and moral element in this domain; still it must be admitted to be highly significant and important, that the first impression which the masterpieces of man's taste for art left on the mind of St Paul was a revolting one, while he declares that all this majesty and beauty had placed itself between man and his Creator, and bound him the faster to his gods who were not God. Upon the first contact, therefore, which the Spirit of Christ came into with the sublimest creations of human art, the judgment of the Holy Ghost, through which they all have to pass, is set up as the narrow gate, and this must also remain the correct standard for ever.

In the mean time, however, Timothy at last arrives in Athens, as we learn from 1 Thess. iii. 1, 2. Thereupon the Apostle goes to work, beginning, as was his usual habit, first of all with the Synagogue of the Jews (ver 17). As, however, the presence of Timothy was again required in Thessalonica (1 Thess. iii. 1), the Apostle found himself once more reduced to solitude (cf. Neander ibid 258, 259). Since then, even the arrival of Timothy in Athens made no change in the situation of St Paul, and as also it subsequently became manifest that any plan of continuous labour in the cause of the Gospel was not to be thought of in this place, and consequently there was probably no such necessity for any of the fellow-labourers of St Paul to remain in this city

as there had been in Philippi, Thessalonica, and Berea; St Luke does not mention the meeting again of Paul and his two companions, who had been left behind in Macedonia, until in his history he comes to the place where their co-operation again resumes an active part in the diffusion and settling of the Gospel (see xviii. 5). Since it was not by any means St Luke's object to give a continuous history of the companions of St Paul, there is, therefore, nothing certainly to object against this assumption; and we can consequently maintain this, which is undeniably the most simple sense of the words: *ἐνδοκήσαμεν καταλειφθῆναι ἐν Ἀθήναις μόνοι* (1 Thess. iii. 1), against the proposed interpretation of Wieseler (see Chronologie des Apostolischen Zeitalters S. 248, 249).

Now, although it is unquestionable that St Paul's labours did not obtain the same result here as they did in Macedonia, still a full report is given of his proceedings at Athens, and especially of his speeches; and we have here a remarkable contrast presented to the hurried account which we received of his labours in Galatia (see xvi. 6), although we have, on good grounds, supposed that they were attended with very great results. In fact, however, the same reason which, in that case, moved St Luke to silence, has, in the present instance, caused him to speak out—that, viz., he does not measure and estimate events by their momentary significance, but exclusively by the consideration, how far they may and will be of importance for the future. Exactly then as the founding of the Galatian Church was not likely to exercise any pervading and wide-spread influence on the future development of the Church, so the proceedings of the Apostle with the Athenians, even though at the moment indeed they might be of no permanent result, were yet of significance and of importance for all future times. For evidently it was designed that that element of Greek civilisation which had its culminating point in the Athenian character, should exercise a permanent significance on the whole future; as is so clearly intimated by the very adoption by the Spirit, of the language of Greece, to be the principal organ of the evangelical word. As in the former instance the brevity, so here the length of detail allows us to recognise the universal point of view from which St Luke regarded and exhibited the facts which lay before him.

In Athens, also, Paul makes the Jews his starting point (ver. 17). Since, however, in this city a free unimpeded intercourse with the Gentiles was greatly facilitated by the habit of public disputation, and by the public places of discourse which were erected in Athens (see Wachsmuth Hellenish Alterthumskunde, ii. 242), so St Paul at once very naturally avails himself of the door of access to the Athenians which had been so spontaneously offered (ver. 17). And as Paul seems to have been greatly drawn on by this readiness of the Athenians for disputation, and all his intercourse with the Jews appears to have been crowned with no result, it is simply on this account that nothing more is mentioned of the synagogue.

We shall find in it nothing unintelligible if, when St Paul entered into such free and unshackled communications with the Athenians, in the hope of leading them to Jesus, some of the schools of the philosophers prepared to contradict him. If Epicureans and Stoics are especially named, this circumstance has assuredly its ground primarily in the fact, that while the scientific spirit fell into deeper sleep, these schools flourished above all others, in consequence of the bearing which all their teaching had on life and practice—the Epicureans effeminately humouring the universal decay of morals, while the Stoics proudly furnished to classical antiquity the strength for its final struggle with the general decline of all the relations of morality (cf. Schmidt. Geschichte der Denk u. Glaubensfrecheit. S. 210—232.) Besides this, there was also the further circumstance, that both these philosophical sects must at the very first have felt themselves concerned in the speeches of the Apostle. Now, it was quite natural that some of these self-conceited wise men of Athens should have felt an unqualified contempt for the Jew with all his speeches. For, when they soon observed that he brought and communicated the wisdom which they had long been seeking, neither in the form nor in the matter corresponding to what with them had been long established as necessary to the only valid truth; that, on the contrary, he urged upon them the most earnest exhortations, which at once wounded and contradicted their vanity and selfishness; they adopted at once an unqualified and unalterable contempt for this prattler (σπερμολόγος); without becoming aware that, whereas they themselves, with all their fine words

and speeches, had never been able to sow one living seed-corn in one immortal soul, Paul had even brought the seed-corn of immortal life unto the dead Athens and universal Greece, and was desirous of planting it in their hearts. It was in the true Athenian spirit that they spoke, when on this subject they declared: "He seems to be a setter forth of strange gods" (ver. 18). To these words St Luke adds, by way of explanation, that it was because the Apostles had preached unto them Jesus and the resurrection. If Luke did not intend by this explanation to give us to understand that the Athenians, in their superficial way, had taken for a Divine personage, that resurrection which, to their minds, was, both in form and subject-matter, a perfectly new idea —in which sense the Greek fathers, and after them Selden, Hammond, and Heinrichs, have understood him, to which opinion Baur also (see der. Apostel Paulus. S. 168, 169) ultimately reverts,—then, I cannot see with what view he could ever have added the words *τὴν ἀνάστασιν*. So far as I am aware, Bengel alone, adopting the usual interpretation, according to which the plural *ξένων δαιμονίων* must be referred to Jesus alone, has attemped to justify the addition, *τὴν ἀνάστασιν*. And he so explains it: Jesus is to be regarded as a new deity, because of his resurrection from the dead, which was attested by St Paul. But in the first place, the assumption of the apotheosis of Jesus required no such explanation; and if any had been appended in the way supposed by Bengel, then we should rather have expected some such words as *καὶ τοῦτον ἐγερθέντα*, or at least *τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτοῦ*. This insinuation, however, was genuinely Athenian; for, as Grotius long ago remarked, and as lately Baur also has called attention to the circumstance (ubi supra), it reminds us of the accusation and indictment which the Athenians brought against Socrates, from which we at the same time see that this turn—since Socrates was the father of all the later philosophical schools—was so much the more unphilosophical. St Luke, too, evidently desires also to call our attention generally to this fact, that all and every thing like earnestness of wisdom in these philosophers had disappeared before the frivolous and gossiping disposition of the city of Athens. On this account he reports, in all their breadth of meaning, the remarks by which they induced the Apostle to go with them to the Areopagus (ver. 19,

20). For the same reason he describes to us with a very delicate touch the excitable temper and eagerness for novelty which formed the characteristic features of the Athenian mind (ver. 21), for he has adopted the so frequent, and therefore so distinctive Atticism *καινότερον* (see Bernhardy wissesnchaftliche Syntax der griech. Sprache S. 433, only that the Athenians would have preferred *νεώτερον* to *καινότερον*, see Matthiæ Griechische Gramm. ii. 834. *καινότερον*, however, is found in Theophr. Char. iii.). That, however, St Luke does here so urgently and so designedly set himself the task of accurately depicting the peculiarities of Athens; that he not only brings forward many specialities, such as the *κατείδωλον*, ver. 16; the *ἀγορά*, ver. 17; the designation, *τῶν Ἐπικουρείων καὶ Στοικῶν φιλοσόφων*, ver. 18; the repeated mention of the *Ἄρειος πάγος*, vv. 19, 22; but also vividly brings before us the whole tone and character of the Athenians, has evidently its foundation in the fact, that Paul had here wholly resigned himself to his own maxim, of becoming "a Gentile to the Gentiles, as without the law to them that were without the law" (see 1 Cor. ix. 21, 22)—a condescension to the Gentiles such as we have not yet found in him.

Justly has Neander found it very worthy of consideration that St Paul, when he was invited by the lovers of something new to declare his views more at large in the Areopagus,[1] did not allow himself to be deterred by that first expression of their displeasure, but set himself to work to discover in the idols and in the artistic creations of Athens, some connecting link for his own evangelical preaching (see Neander u. s. 249). Since St Luke, before communicating to us the speech of the Apostle, prefixes

[1] Meyer, in his note on this passage, has proved that, and also shewn why, a judicial proceeding in the Areopagus is not to be thought of—although this was the idea that was formerly entertained. And yet Baur has again come back to this view of the matter, and, indeed, on the very pertinent grounds, that Dionysius is mentioned in ver. 34, with the surname of *ὁ Ἀρειοπαγίτης* (see ibid. S. 170). With regard to this caprice of Baur's, this only appears to me worthy of remark, that Zeller, although he expressly and strongly points out how everything goes on quite otherwise than it would, were it a judicial proceeding, nevertheless pronounces the remark of Baur to be perfectly correct! (see ibid. S.544). And, then, quite naturally the result of these critical observations is, that the sacred historian has here involved himself in a most striking inconsistency!

the words, σταθεὶς δὲ ὁ Παῦλος ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀρείου πάγου, it is evidently his wish to bring the situation vividly before us. We must conceive in thought the city of which he is speaking; for Cicero pro Flacco, c. 26, 62, says: "unde humanitas, doctrina, religio, fruges, jura, leges ortæ atque in omnes terras distributæ putantur. We must try and fancy ourselves in this central city of classical civilisation, on the hill which, from the ancient venerable court of justice named after it, has become famous in all the world (see Wetstein ii. 565). Robinson, after personal inspection, describes the spot to which St Luke here refers us in the following words: "The Areopagus is a narrow, naked, ridge of limestone rock, rising gradually from the northern end, and terminating abruptly on the south, over against the west end of the Acropolis, from which it bears about north, being separated from it by an elevated valley. This southern end is fifty or sixty feet above the said valley; though yet much lower than the Acropolis. On its top are still to be seen the seats of the judges and parties, hewn in the rock; and towards the S.W., is a descent by a flight of steps, also cut in the rock, into the valley below. On the west of the ridge, in the valley between it and the Pnyx, was the ancient market, and on the south-east side, the later or new market. In which of these it was that Paul 'disputed daily,' it is of course impossible to tell; but from either, it was only a short distance to the foot of 'Mars Hill,' up which Paul was probably conducted by the flight of steps just mentioned. Standing on this elevated platform, surrounded by the learned and wise of Athens, the multitude perhaps being on the steps and in the vale below, Paul had directly before him the far famed Acropolis, with its wonders of Grecian art; and beneath him, on his left, the majestic Theseium, the earliest and still most perfect of Athenian structures, while all around, other temples and altars filled the whole city" (Robinson's Palestine, vol. i., p. 10).

The very first words of the Apostle are in a most marvellous manner suitable to this his historical position. "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that ye are in all respects extremely reverential." In these words, we have expressed the most affectionate, most thoughtful compliance with the peculiarity of the Athenian character, without trenching too closely on the truth. For δεισιδαιμονία expresses a fear of God in the good sense of the term.

For, although, in general, cheerfulness was a characteristic peculiarity of Athenian religious character (see Plato de leg. 11. 654, Strabo x. 322), still the avoidance of *ὕβρις* (cf. Gregor Nitsch. in the Monatschrift fur Wissenchaft und Literatur 1852, 1, p. 18. 20), and reverence for the Divine, was an admitted principle among the Greeks (see Jacob's Vermischte Schriften iii. p. 52). In the course of time, indeed, it became apparent that the joyousness which formed so predominant an element in the myths and the worship of Greece, was not sufficient to satisfy the profoundest and most earnest needs of the human heart; and unmistakeable tones of a secret sorrow and despair broke through all the light-heartedness of the Hellenic character—(this is shown especially in the Essays of Lassaulx on this subject). This secret sorrow and despair, however, as it was not overcome by an internal victory, but was only kept under outwardly by the superficial view they took of the world, showed itself in certain individuals as a morbid sentiment which was very characteristically designated by the term *δεισιδαιμονία*, as is shown by the character of the *δεισιδαίμων* in Theophrast by Plutarch's Essay *περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας καὶ ἀθεότητος*. If, then, St Paul addresses the Athenians as fearers of God in an eminent degree, most assuredly (as we shall be forced to infer from the context) he did not intend thereby to impute to them any blameworthy, but, on the contrary, a laudable feeling (see Meyer ad loc. Neander ibid S. 249, 250; Immanuel Nitsch uber den Religionsbegriff der Alten S. 17). But still, when praising the fear of the gods among the Athenians, he has so expressed himself as at the same time to make them conscious of its extreme limits, which were exhibited in the morbid *δεισιδαιμονία*. It is no doubt true, that in a certain sense this predicate was applicable to every Grecian city and people, and, indeed, essentially to all nations and lands of the Gentiles. However, a particular reason existed why this term should have been pre-eminently applicable to the Athenians. For the praise of extraordinary veneration for the gods was in ancient times conceded to the Athenians above every other people. Thus Pausanius tells us that at Athens there was an altar to Mercy—which was not to be met with anywhere else in Greece, and goes on to remark: *τούτοις* (*Ἀθηναίοις*) *δὲ οὐ τὰ ἐς φιλανθρωπίαν μόνον καθέστηκεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς θεοὺς εὐσεβεῖν*

ἄλλων πλέον. And just so observes Polemo, in a Scholium on Œdipus Col. 96, Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐπιμέλεις ὄντες καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὅσιοι· (cf. Grotius on ver. 22, who adduces still other instances; and also Schlosser de gestis Pauli in urbe Atheniensium. Syllog. Dissert. ii. 671). To this head belong also the legends of Œdipus and Orestes, as modified by the Athenians (see Gregor Nitsch ibid p. 15). And St Paul builds his assertion of the high degree in which this fear of God existed in Athens on his own immediate observation. That the city is κατείδωλος he inferred from the great abundance of works of art in the public places and in the streets, all of which were connected with their religious worship; and as he stood on Mars' Hill, he had again the same prospect of innumerable representatives of gods and godlike beings before his eyes.

But it was not on the surface only that the glance of the great Apostle of the Gentiles fixed itself: as his spiritual eye penetrated as well into the depths of the lie as into the depths of the truth, which was comprised in the Athenian idols, so also had his bodily eye discerned something more than wood and stone, and metal. During his wanderings through the streets, as he looked about him, he had noticed on an altar the inscription ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ. In explanation of this inscription, it has been usual, since the time of Wetstein, to appeal to the following statements which bear upon it. Pausanias writes:—ἐπὶ τῇ φαληρῷ. . . Ἀθηνᾶς ναός ἐστι καὶ Διὸς ἀπωτέρω, βωμοὶ δὲ θεῶν τῶν ὀνομαζομένων ἀγνώστων καὶ τῶν ἡρώων; and in another passage πρὸς αὐτῷ δ' ἐστιν ἀγνώστων θεῶν βωμός; and Philostratus says, σωφρονέστερον περί πάντων θεῶν εὖ λέγειν καὶ ταῦτα Ἀθηνῆσιν, οὗ καὶ ἀγνώστων θεῶν βωμοὶ ἵδρυνται· If, now, besides these witnesses for the existence of altars to unknown gods, Diogenes Laertius gives a reason, however legendary, for the existence of such nameless altars (see Wetstein. ii. 568), the statement of St Paul appears to be not only sufficiently warranted, but also intelligible enough. With regard to the first point, therefore, the assertion of Meyer, "that at Athens there really was, at least, one altar, with the inscription 'to an unknown God,' would appear to be historically certain from the present passage itself, even though all other proofs were wanting, since St Paul appeals to his own observation, and that, too, in presence

of the Athenian people themselves" (cf. on ver. 23) most certainly cannot be called an exaggeration. But the critics of the newest school are nothing less than satisfied with the historical character of the facts in this passage, and consequently with the whole narrative also. They insist throughout, that the existence of an altar with the inscription *ἀγνώστῳ θέῳ* must be proved from other sources, and they refuse to allow any weight to the passages already adduced, because they all alike speak of a multitude of "unknown gods" (see Baur der Apostel Paulus S. 177. Zeller theolog Jahrb. 1849. 543). One, ought, however, to remember that, independently of the second of the passages quoted above, concerning a *βωμὸς ἀγνώστων θεῶν*, to which also the conjectures of Jerome and Isidore refer, the other passages which speak of *βωμοί* (with reference to which the attempt at explanation by Diogenes is to be taken into consideration), suggest not merely the possibility, but also the probability of their having been a single altar specially dedicated to the unknown God. The obstinate refusal of these critics to enter upon this consideration makes their conduct with regard to our passage remarkable and instructive. Baur is forced to admit that the touches with which the section before us depicts the character of the Athenians are surprisingly true (see u. s. S. 168. 169), and yet, harping upon the name of Dionysius, the Areopagite, he spins out of it a tissue of hypotheses, which is so loose that the very threads of it are made up of directly contradictory tendencies (cf S. 167. 168. with S. 173). Zeller acknowledges that he cannot readily detect any clear signs of blundering in these instances—there is here an absence not only of miracles, but even of Jews; still criticism cannot rest contented therewith; it must demand the confirmation by positive proofs of the propriety of the statements in a passage such as that before us, and consequently the whole narrative of the public appearance of the Apostle in Athens is on such grounds to be called in question (ibid. S. 545). Whereas there it is a delight in the most arbitrary exhibition of historical combinations, here it is a certain prudery which shrinks from passing from a definite sphere of ideas into an historical domain, which, in the shape of criticism, seeks to destroy the authority of this incomparable and ever memorable narration of the love and wisdom with which the Apostle of the

Gentiles has followed both the old and the new Athenians in their most secret course of thoughts.

For our part the contents of the book before us has opened to us such fulness and such profundity that we feel no inclination to look out for collateral historical matter; and the truth of the narrative contained in it, even unto the minutest particulars, has been so brought home to our convictions that, so far from distrusting, we accept with the greatest confidence the account it gives us of St Paul's visit to Athens. Consequently it is not to our minds doubtful for a moment, that Paul did meet in Athens with an altar bearing the above inscription. We have, however, no right to put into this inscription more than may, with perfect justice, be inferred from it. From the narrative of Diogenes, as well as from the instructions of Apollonius, which are quoted in Philostratus, it clearly follows that the dedication of altars to unknown and unnamed deities among the Athenians had its origin in the great anxiety of that city for the worship of the gods —what indeed exactly coincides with the testimonies to this peculiarity which have already been set down from other sources, and also with the course of the Apostle's thoughts. If some older commentators, as for instance Walæus and Calovius, are of opinion that, without further arguing, Paul had at once referred the inscription to the God of Israel, and do not like St Jerome pronounce such an assumption to be an allowable device, but attempt to justify it even on historical grounds, they are certainly in error. But Baur could never have renewed this untenable assumption, and have fancied that he could discern traces of it in the account itself (see ibid. S. 177 in the note), if he had but duly considered Neander's pertinent observations on this point. For Neander, with perfect justice, remarks that polytheism has its origin in a feeling of dependence, which is pervaded by the desire of standing in the right relation to the unknown, higher power that it venerates; but then, instead of directing this feeling to something supernatural, it made it to bear on the powers of nature which work sensibly on men; and so that by which the original religious feeling of the Gentiles is immediately attracted, and to which it addresses itself without the reflective consciousness of man clearly making it out, is one thing, but that which man still involved within the circle of

nature, makes with his reflective consciousness the object of his veneration, is another thing. St Paul, therefore, might very justly consider the whole religion of the Athenians in the light of the worship of a god, whom they were not themselves conscious of; and accordingly he announces himself to them as the person who was able and ready to guide them to pure and clear convictions of the right object of their religious feelings (see ibid. S. 252, 253). One thing only is wanting in this exposition, namely, the connecting link between the fundamental idea on which the argument pre-eminently turns, and the proof which is based on the inscription. For the question ever remains possible: What right had St Paul to deduce this his fundamental view of Hellenic heathendom from this inscription, as, by the transition ὃν οὖν ἀγνοοῦντες εὐσεβεῖτε (ver. 23), he undoubtedly has confessed his wish to do? With regard to this we would have it considered that every confession of a not knowing with respect to the Divine being whose worship is acknowledged to be necessary, contains a clear and undeniable allusion to an inconsistency between the religious feeling and the system of worship. Of such avowals there are many in heathendom, but it would not be easy to find one of such striking force as that discovered and made use of by St Paul. For even though the unknown deity, to whom this altar may have been dedicated, was comparatively of no very great importance; still the very existence of the altar is a palpable proof that a need of worshipping him was felt. So here the same contradiction lies before us which is contained in the well-known passage of Ovid, in which he confesses that he does not know which of the gods it was who had reduced chaos into the shape and order of the universe. From the existence, therefore, of this altar with its inscription in Athens, Paul could, with the most perfect justice, draw the conclusion that the religious feeling and needs of man would not find any satisfaction in the acknowledged myths and in the existing modes of worship, and, consequently, that it points onwards beyond the actual condition of the prevailing religion, just as, from the perpetually renewed offering of sacrifices under the Old Testament with full demonstrative force, the Epistle to the Hebrews draws the inference that man's need of an oblation points far beyond the idea which the Old Testament realises by

sacrifice. Indeed, St Paul would not have gained the above inference from the mere inscription, had he not penetrated into the depths of the religious feeling and wants of the Athenians; as also the author of the already named epistle would not have regarded the sacrificial ritual in the light already mentioned, had he not arrived at a knowledge of the only true and eternal sacrifice. But this fundamental view of heathenism which we here meet with in the speech of St Paul is also contained in the well-known section of the Epistle to the Romans on the origin of heathenism. For however many and heavy may be the complaints which, in the above passage, the Apostle brings against the Gentiles; still it is, and remains undeniably, his hypothesis, that the heathens originally possessed the knowledge of God, but that the idea of God which was innate in them, and was originally expanded still further by the contemplation of the universe, had, by their own fault, been transferred to something less than God, namely, to the things of nature and the powers of the world. Accordingly the point is here also very firmly established, that the Gentiles, with all their low and impure worship of God, meant and intended nothing else than the worship of the one and true God, whose idea, however, had been obscured, and eventually had become unknown to them.

Neander thinks that it also follows from this passage, that the Apostle was far removed from the Jewish conception of a supernatural, magical origination of idolatrous worship by evil spirits (see ibid. S. 253). But if, under the Jewish mode of conception, that be understood which forms its very core—the conviction, viz., that idolatry stands in the closest connection with the working of dæmoniacal spirits and powers; then we must gainsay this assertion of Neander's. As little as the purely anthropological conception and portraiture of the fall by sin excludes the dæmonological, so little does the anthropological conception of idolatry contradict the dæmonological. But now we do know expressly, that St Paul does not think of the gods of the heathen—of the worship of them—in any other light than the whole of Scripture does—viz., not as the creations of man's reflection and volition, but even as objective spiritual powers, which possessed an actual relation to their worship (see 1 Cor. viii. 5; x. 20, 21); and we have every reason for taking it for granted, that during the

Apostle's solitary walks through the streets and market-places of the idolatrous city, this, the darkest and most abhorrent form of heathenism, sunk powerfully on his consciousness, and had an essential portion in his sorrow,—the stirring of his spirit, ver. 16.

Moreover, this remark of Neander's seems to rest on a misunderstanding which we also meet with elsewhere. It is by all means important that, in our estimate of heathenism, we should take into consideration not only the facts of its worship and myths, but also those testimonies to a religious consciousness which stood higher than the developed mythus and the existing worship. And assuredly, it is not without good cause that the too great neglect of this general aspect of heathendom is censured in the well-known essay of Tholuck's, which appeared in the first volume of Neander's Denkwürdigkeiten. But still, on the other hand also, we must not suppose, that when we have pointed out a pious consciousness in classic antiquity, which went beyond the realisation of their religion as completed in any definite forms, we have proved more than can reasonably be found in such testimonies. If Jacobs (see Vermischte Schriften, iii. 348—355, p. lii.) and Jacob (see über Lucian, S. 148) point to this religious temperament of heathendom, which was not directed to the gods of the public cult or myth, but to the Divine, this is undoubtedly the very meaning of our Apostle; and for the interests of Christian and theological knowledge, it were greatly to be wished that philology—as, indeed, it has even already begun seriously to do—would direct its attention to this religious element in classical antiquity. One must not, however, believe that in such testimonies we have pointed out any elements of that true religion in which the mind of man becomes united with the mind of God. For that this general religious sentiment, which is directed towards the Divine, attained to no actual presence and power, either in the individual or the people, is shown by the fact, that that greater purity of ideas which was undoubtedly present within this more general sphere of heathen religion, was at no time in a condition, in any respect, to improve and reform the public convictions and customs of a nation.

The very best, consequently, that heathendom could at any time do, was but, as St Paul expresses it, εὐσεβεῖν ἀγνοοῦντα.

It was only these gods of their own worship and mythology that the Gentiles acknowledged; with these a real, actual relation existed; for these, both by individuals and whole nations, much was done; to them all that was dearest was offered, and even life itself was sacrificed for the gods of the people, and the state, for the gods of their fathers. But who would have been ready to do or to suffer aught for the Divine, which soars indeed above the gods, but which was unknown and unnamed, of which no one could relate any legend, because no one had had experience of His power and goodness; who would be likely to enter upon any venture or risk for the unknown and unnamed divine, if the Divine should come into collision with the gods, nay, should even menace them with destruction? The first thing necessary, therefore, is, that this unknown and unnamed Divinity should become known and named among the Gentiles; and, accordingly, it was even this that, after his introductory words, St Paul forthwith undertakes to do for the Athenians: If, then, by the connecting inference ὅν . . . . εὐσεβεῖτε and τοῦτον καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν, St Paul acknowledges in the Athenian mind a reference to the God of heaven and earth, one must carefully guard against the error of supposing that he thereby expressed any special commendation of that people. Now, the singularity in this consists only in the circumstance, that the demonstration of the connection between idolatry, and the recognition of a God, was rendered more easy to the Apostle by this pious feeling which the Athenian Greeks were conscious of. If, however, in preaching of the Creator and Redeemer, he starts from an assumption of His existence, in so doing, the Apostle does but follow the invariable method of Scripture, which at no time and in no place commences by giving a direct, complete, and fundamental proof of the existence and nature of God, but in every instance taking up the idea which is ineradicably present in the spirit and mind of man, proceeds to shew what God does, and wills, what he has already performed, and what He yet intends (cf. Hoffmann Schriftbeweis 1, 60—65). The procedure of St Paul with the Athenians is therefore fundamentally the same as that which the apologists Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian occasionally adopted (see Neander's Denkwurdigkeiten i. 276, 278, 280.)

Now, in all that St Paul says of the unknown God, and wherein he preaches to them the unknown one, whom with their ignorant worship they both meant and sought, he comes at once to the principal point, and the centre around which the thickest darkness of heathenism was gathered. He preaches God to them as Him who had made the world and all that therein is, and therefore the Lord of heaven and earth (ver. 24). The idea of creation was very remote and strange to the Grecian intellect, as is shewn by the fables, concerning the origin of those gods who were acknowledged and worshipped as the rulers and powers of the world, which Hesiod has strung together in his Theogony, and which also the popular mind carried in itself. In this work, Hesiod, with perfect simplicity, utters the wish that the muses would instruct him how the gods—even those who were above all others, the blissful dispensers of good, the inhabitants of the many-ridged Olympus, came into being (see Theog. 105—115). And in the course of the poem, he goes on to relate in succession the origin of the great Olympian gods. It is true, Hesiod does mention other powers which had existed before them; but the notion of their existence was very indistinct and very remote from the minds of the men in those days; and moreover of a gloomy and repulsive character. Chaos, for instance, is declared to be the beginning of all things (see ver. 116), and Night is described as one of the mightiest producers among the primitive powers (see vv. 123, 124, 208, 218—220). Thus finite appears to be the existence of the gods whom they worshipped, and thus infinite the darkness which was spread over the existence of the elements of the world. It is clear that in such a circle of ideas the lightest breath of a conception of the creation of the world by God is at once stopped. But perhaps it was otherwise and better with the cultivated mind—in that sphere which sought to elevate itself above the myths and the worship of the people? Let us ask Plato, who manifestly laboured very earnestly to free himself from the bands of fable and popular prejudice. Did he, on the wings of his contemplations and longings, rise to the idea of Creation? No, Plato even recognizes none but an arranger of the eternal Hyle; he, too, dreamed not of a Creator of Heaven and Earth (see Ritter Gesch. der Philos. S. ii. 348—354, Eng. Transl. p. 340, &c.) Aristotle, who strove still more zealously

to break through by the reason all the limits of sensuous thought, which had been formed in the popular mind with reference to the sublimest and most spiritual objects, when he proceeds to state the relation of the Godhead to the world, abstains, it is true, from every expression and conception which were contained in the mode of thinking and the phraseology of the people; but, in place of them, what does he himself attain to? An inability to establish any true distinction between God and the world (see Ritter iii. 186—196, Eng. Transl. 182, &c.), consequently the idea of the creation must have remained perfectly strange to him also. With these first expressions, therefore, with regard to the unknown God, Paul threw a bright ray of light on the dark night of the Hellenic conscience, which was as necessary to the philosophers as to the Idiotæ, and which could as easily be comprehended by the latter as by the former. And since, in the present day, Alexander von Humboldt avows, that of creation properly speaking—of becoming as a beginning of being after not being, we have neither notion nor experience (see Kosmos i. 87), we see that the assertion of St Paul on the Areopagus, possesses quite as much importance and significance for the present day as for that time.

But that Paul wished his hearers to regard the creation of the world not merely as a past act, and that he wished to be understood as asserting its continuance down to the time immediately present, was intimated alike by his taking up of the term ὁ ποιήσας and connecting it with the phrase couched in the present tense οὗτος ὑπάρχων, as also by his maintaining in the further prosecution of his opinion that there is a relation, equally founded on the creation, and still subsisting, between God and every individual (διδοὺς πᾶσιν ζωὴν καὶ πνοὴν καὶ τὰ πάντα, ver. 25). In asserting this he did nothing superfluous; since this also was an idea both strange and new to the Greek mind. One might perhaps console oneself as regarded the absence of belief in a creation, if only the present condition of the world were viewed in its true dependence on the will and power of God; but in fact it fared no better with the latter relation than with the former. That according to the popular notions the different Divine powers hostilely opposed each other, and that also the highest gods were supposed to be subject to a fearful overruling might, is universally known. But even the philosophers were likewise equally unable

to arrive at the conception that the mundane powers all stood in absolute but exclusive dependence on the might and will of God. Plato, as well as Aristotle, speak of an obscure principle in the world, not controlled by the Divine power and wisdom—that is matter—whose aboriginal might held its sway over all heathen minds, the cultivated no less than the uncultivated intellect (see Ritter Geschichte der Philosophie. ii. 397; Eng. Transl. p. iii. 168, 174; and in Theologischen Studien u. Kritiken 1833. S. 7). The second assertion which St Paul advances with regard to the unknown God is accordingly this; that as He had created all things, so he manifests himself to be Lord over all creatures by furnishing them with that which is necessary for their maintenance.

After these two propositions, St Paul endeavours to rouse and alarm the conscience of the Athenians. He calls their attention to the fact, that on such an hypothesis, the worship they paid to the gods could not be deemed suitable to the Divine being. The God who stands before the world as its absolute cause, not only in its origin, but also in its preservation, cannot dwell in temples made with hands, and needeth not the care and tending of man's hands (vv. 24, 25). In so far, therefore, as with all their previous service, they may have wished to venerate the unknown God, in the external rites of such a service they had offered Him a faulty and unworthy worship; and if they wish from this time forward to worship the unknown God more fitly and more truly, they must commence a new service.

Now here one might easily have come to the conclusion, that St Paul, with his objection, must have offended the Athenians and the heathens in general, since, with slight exceptions, they were all accustomed to build temples to the gods, and to bring to them gifts and offerings. It might also be said that this heathen method in itself was as little contradictory to the true knowledge of the deity (who is not only independent of space, but also in no need of offerings)—as the temples of Solomon and the Levitical sacrifices among the Jews. As, however, we shall have hereafter in our exposition of ver. 29 to reply to another objection belonging to the same class, which is urged with yet greater speciousness and show of reason, it will be better to put off this matter till then.

It was Paul's immediate object to bring right home to the minds of the Athenians, and to enable them to realize as present before them the unknown God, whom he for the first time proclaimed to them. It was to this end that the allusion was to serve which he made to the contradiction between the nature of God and the service paid to Him; since it was his wish to restore the idea of God in their consciences. To this end also the following position was subservient, with which he strives to make the preaching of God accessible to the natural consciousness of those present. To the Lycaonians St Paul had described the God of Heaven and Earth as Him who, from Heaven, gives the rain and fruitful seasons, and fills the hearts of men with food and joy. As this speech was perfectly appropriate and intelligible to this half barbarous people, so now, standing on Mars Hill in presence of the most cultivated assembly in the whole of the existing world, he attempts to give prominence to that aspect of the relation of God to the world, which met the most their very peculiarities, and appeared most attractive to them. In Greece, and especially in Athens, by means of its great struggle with the Eastern Empire, the beginnings of an historical mind had been made, while, by the public recital of his books of history (of which the main subject and central interest was even this opposition between Hellenic liberty and barbaric vassalage), Herodotus had raised this consciousness in Athens to greater clearness and steadfastness. By this means their views of the world had been enlarged, and an interest awakened in the knowledge of the most distant lands and peoples, which found among them a cultivation and an expansion such as it met with no where else. It is true that this consciousness of the importance in the history of the world of the Hellenic love of liberty and of Attic civilization was doomed to undergo the bitterest trials. After the lapse of a few generations Greece saw a new empire of the world arise in its immediate neighbourhood, and soon it cherished these beginnings in its own bosom. No doubt the Attic consciousness awoke once more, aroused by the invigorating call of Demosthenes, who, from the Pnyx in the front of Mars Hill, had whilom animated the people to march to their last fight for freedom; but the issue of the final conflict was as disastrous as the first had been glorious. Philip of Macedonia trampled under

foot the liberty of Athens and the corpse of Demosthenes. And these things went so far that the original relation was exactly reversed. The Greeks who loved liberty went over to the Great King in order to fight against Alexander the King of Javan (see Niebuhr Vorlesungen uber alte Geschichte [Lectures on Ancient History] ii. 398 cf. 397). By this violent upsetting of all the relations of the world (to which a new impulse was added from the West), the proper nerve of the original historical consciousness was deadened; but still that consciousness retained a rallying point in the ancient recollections, as indeed the deeds also of this great past were still existent, and still propagated themselves in weak imitations.

It was to the susceptibility here existing for the conception and understanding of the great and comprehensive relations of history that Paul appeals, and here also coming in with a correcting, purifying, and completing purpose, he seeks to exhibit to them the unknown God in a perfectly new light, and one which, provided they were willing, would do good and be wholesome to their eyes. As St Paul carefully guarded against speaking of the multitude of nations, we must, with Bengel, regard it as an intentional turn if he describes the whole human race collectively with the words *πᾶν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων* (ver. 26). For by them he evidently wishes to intimate that the multiplicity and variety of nations does not preclude the combination of the whole human family into a kind of national unity. But it is also presently added that this union of the whole *fulness of humanity* is not any artificial combination independent of nature herself, such as is exhibited in an universal empire, or such as lay immediately and obviously before the Athenian auditors of St Paul; but that it rests on the original basis of the nature of all men—namely, on historical descent. But why does St Paul say *ἐξ ἑνὸς αἵματος*, and not as he might *ἐξ ἑνὸς ανθρωπου* or *ἐξ ἑνὸς*. The reflection that *αἷμα* in this connexion seems to be devoid of any right reason and sense, may have given rise to the old reading *ἐξ ἑνός*, which Bengel thought worthy of consideration—and which Lachman has even adopted. But it is easy to see that if *ἐξ ἑνὸς* had been the original reading, the widely diffused one *ἐξ ἑνὸς αἵματος* could never have arisen, since the mention of blood in this context is very far removed from the usual conception of

this relation. But before the Apostle's mind there was present the biblical connection between the life and the blood (see Gen. ix. 4; Levit. xvii. 11; Deut. xii. 23). According to this principle, the blood appears to St Paul as the life stream of the whole human race, and this stream is one, because it flows from one source. Since, then, St Paul points to the unity and connection of the secretly flowing stream of life, he has at the same time the advantage of having set up a counterpoise to the appearance which is so obvious, of the difference and contrast in the colour and configuration of men. How, then, does St Paul know that the human race, thus essentially connected together by origin, and by the immediate presence of the vital force, had diffused itself over the face of the whole earth? On the one hand it was to his mind an indisputable fact, that, from the beginning, the duty was enjoined upon man to replenish the whole earth (Gen. i. 28; ix. 1); and secondly, he knew that the time of this natural development had run out, and that now, as presently he declares expressly, a new æra had dawned. But simultaneously with these thoughts of the diffusion of human race over the whole surface of the earth, the varieties of nations and lands spontaneously came before the mind of St Paul, and in all that follows, he had, it is quite clear, these varieties in his eye. Consequently the opinion of Heinrichs, that in all that follows, the Apostle is speaking of the individual man, has, at the very outset, the whole line of thought which St Paul here pursues, against it. For he says that this diffusion took place in conformity with God's appointment of certain seasons and bounds previously determined for the habitation of men. And in this assertion, the Apostle attaches himself closely to that which was confirmed to him out of the Old Testament. For *καιροὶ* cannot, with Meyer, be referred to *κατ' οικίας αὐτῶν*; for "the before appointed times of the habitation of men on the earth," would naturally suggest the idea of a ceasing and disappearing, and this thought, since the disappearing of nations is a something too isolated, could have only one signification, *i.e.*, if it be referred to individuals; which, however, as already remarked, would neither agree with the course of the ideas in this passage nor even admit of any appropriate interpretation of *ὁροθεσίας*. The expression *καιροὶ* taken absolutely, does not, by any means,

as Meyer asserts, "remain in most perplexing indefiniteness;" if only we will give to it that definiteness which belongs to it in the connection between St Paul's way of thinking in general and the present speech. What then in the Apostle's circle of ideas are the times which are "before determined," and which possess an importance for the whole human race, while following its natural course of development? Assuredly they were no other than those which were discerned by the prophet of God who had directed his eye to the movement of nations in their natural development—and also declared and described by him as well with regard to their generality as also with regard to their more exact limitations. Daniel had set forth, partly in general terms and partly in special respects, the times and the seasons appointed by God, and which were of significance for the whole of humanity, and thereby firmly established the whole notion of fixed seasons for the collective body of mankind, within the history of revelation. This allusion to the Divine destination which the great epochs of the world were to serve, cannot be unintelligible or obscure to the Athenians, since they themselves, with their most glorious and also their most humiliating recollections, were involved in the course of this development. Were they ignorant of the might of the great king who, from India unto Thrace, had led on countless nations and hosts against Greece? Is it not their highest glory that the first check to this imperial power was given by the courage and vigour of a little state? And after that, had they not observed how another imperial power arose in the West to overthrow and to destroy that of the East? Moreover, did it not belong also to their sad and humiliating reminiscences, which the present was again awakening day by day, that the Western power had been invested with such might that all the exertions of Hellas were unable to resist it—nay, that subsequently another power arose in the far West which forced its way still more violently through the world, and left to Grecian liberty and independence nothing but a shadow? Moreover, it is of itself intelligible, as St Paul laid so great stress on the unity and communion of the human race, that not merely the great epochs of the world are to be understood by καιροὶ, but also the smaller epochs of individuals nations, inasmuch as the former were formed out of this communion which unites and combines together all nations. And just so the ὁροθέ-

σιαι are, there can be no doubt, primarily the limits of the great universal empires in their commencement and in their further progress, and secondarily and naturally also, the historical boundaries of all other peoples and kingdoms which, according to Deut. xxxii. 8, Jehovah had fixed at the beginning, as indeed in their grand general and fundamental features, they were recognised even from the very beginnings of the world as renewed by the flood, and also described in Holy Writ (Gen. x).

If, then, St Paul says that the whole of this development of the human race from one individual principle, as well as the diffusion of men over the whole earth in accordance with a definite order and succession in the relations of power, and following a fixed division of space, took place not so much after the way of the powers and laws of nature, as rather in obedience to the will and omnipotence of God, there was nothing strange or new in all this to the heathen mind. For they likewise discerned in all these things a greater or lesser operation of Divine power. One thing in it, however, was new and surprising to them, and that was, that the unknown God of heaven and earth should have done all this in His sole exclusive oneness and omnipotence. But still more must it have surprised the Athenians to hear from St Paul, that all the fortunes and territorial relations of nations should be regarded as having this one sole end—the discovery of the unknown God. It was, it is true, an habitual thing with them to trace and to acknowledge, in the prosperous and adverse fortunes of nations, in the beneficial or prejudicial circumstances of different lands, Divine influences and operations of Divine power such as were not merely matters of abstract thought, but such that they placed themselves in real relations with them. And it was even from such experiences and collisions of nations, one with the other, and out of such sympathy with the natural circumstances of their respective neighbourhoods, that there arose in each nation its myth and its religious rites (see K. O. Muller, Eumeniden des Aeschylos p. 166). Indications of the Godhead had consequently been discerned in every spot in its given historical and geographical circumstances, and these had assumed a practical influence; but in Athens no more than elsewhere had the unknown God of heaven and earth been traced or felt for. And yet this was the end and aim of

the whole of that development of nations, both geographically and historically, which God himself had appointed. Let us endeavour to make this clear to our minds. The *καιροὶ*, in the most comprehensive sense, are those epochs which, from a certain point, set the whole historical world in motion—the sections of the secular power in its various series. These epochs coincide with the disappearance of the people of God from the theatre of the world; the people of God are given up as a prey to the developed powers of the world. Now this was a fact of experience of such a kind that in it the people of the empire of the world might have discerned the hand of Jehovah, and, to use St Paul's words, feel Him. Since, by a series of world-known events, Jehovah had manifested Himself to be indeed the God of gods, the princes and the peoples to whom Israel, the chosen people of Jehovah, had been given over as a prey, might and ought to have perceived that this power could only have been lent to them by Jehovah; in their own predominant greatness they ought to have learned to trace the will and determinate counsels of the Lord.

Moses, however, from the very beginning, had foreseen that this light of knowledge would not dawn upon the Gentiles; that they would ascribe to themselves and to their gods that which most obviously could be the work of none other than Jehovah (see Deuter. xxxii. 27—38; cf. Theolog. Commentar. ii. 544—552). And so, literally, was it in the case of the Assyrian, who, in his victories over the neighbouring nations of the heathen, and also over Israel and Judah, might have recognised the hand of Jehovah, but instead of doing so, he did but arrogate to himself the honour and the glory (cf. Isa. x. 8—15). That, from the providences which befel the heathen, it was possible for them to discern and to acknowledge Jehovah, is shewn by the individual instances of a Nebuchadnezzar, a Darius, and a Cyrus—which exceptions only serve to render more manifest the general and prevailing want of a right discernment. And in Athens it had fared no better than elsewhere. They gained their great victory over the imperial power of the East, and therein the God of heaven and earth had presented Himself palpably to their grasp (*εἰ ἄραγε ψηλαφήσειαν*); they might have perceived that it was not any limited and individual attribute which had stood by them in their extreme need, and had cast down to the ground the mighty

power before which the whole earth had stood trembling. They might have felt that the Divine power, which governs and pervades the whole world, had embraced them with His goodness; seeing that He had allowed the best and loftiest wishes of their heart, the freest and grandest conceptions of their mind, to attain to a realisation in a way never before witnessed, and never before dreamed of. And how did the Greeks, and how did the Athenians, regard these great deeds of God? That these great events did not take place without God, they were, indeed, vividly conscious; but still they did not allow themselves to be moved by it, out of the habitual circle of their ideas concerning God, and the things of God. Before the day of Marathon, Miltiades declared his hope of assistance from the gods (see Herod. vi. 109); and after the victory, Apollo is said to have appeared to the Persian General, in a threatening attitude (see Herod. vi. 118). In the still greater extremity, when Xerxes led his countless myriads against Greece, they had recourse to the Pythian priestess for advice and counsel; and when she declared that the Olympian gods, in spite of the entreaties of Pallas Athene, had resolved upon the ruin of Athens, but that the Athenians ought nevertheless to arm themselves, and to defend themselves with their wooden walls (see Herod. vii. 140, 141), they laid to heart this sentence of the god, and it proved in consequence their deliverance. In the two victories at Platea and Mycale, which were gained on one and the same day, they likewise recognized tokens of Divine assistance; but they owed this, they thought, to the proximity of the temple of Demeter (see Herod. ix. 100, 101). But then, since the Greeks, and especially the Athenians, did not discern and lay to heart the gracious assistance with which the Almighty God had so visibly and so palpably stood by them, as He had done by no other people, against the powers of the world, they, too, like all other nations, must at a later date feel His stretched out arm and His uplifted hand, with which the God of heaven and earth prepared the Macedonian and also the Roman empire, to punish and to overthrow them.

Naturally this disregard of the most glorious revelations of the power and goodness of God, and the seeing in them nothing beyond the natural development of nations, must have soon repressed again any beginnings of historical consciousness which they had

helped to germinate. Through the extraordinary success of her exertions and resolution, Athens received a very strong impression of the advantages of the whole of her natural site and neighbourhood. But instead of being led on by this perception to see the author of the ὁροθέσιαι, and thereby also to understand the individual in the whole, they could not get beyond the advantages of the site of Athens, in which they stood, but despised other lands and cities (see Aristides and Diodorus, as quoted by Wetstein ii. 570). And so far were they from making a right use of the favourable opportunity, and in consequence of this contact and collision with the imperial power of Asia, of opening their hearts, and extending their looks to the whole body of the human race, that they rather abused more fearfully the knowledge they elsewhere gained of other nations and races, to feed their own national vanity and pride, and to exalt themselves above every other people, and, in the conceit of their own exclusive perfections, to isolate themselves entirely The idea of the autochthonic origin of races was cherished in ancient times nowhere more warmly than in Athens (see the proofs adduced by Wetstein ibid.). And thus, of very necessity, the gulf in the Athenian mind between Hellenism and barbarism became quite impassable (cf. Plut. Politeia. 262. Ed. Imm. Bekker. p. 257), and therewith at the same time any organic conception of the history of humanity was rendered utterly impossible. How impracticable it was even for the freest and the boldest speculation among the Greeks to arrive at the idea of an historical connection and progression, we may see pre-eminently from the instance of Plato. That to this thinker the necessity of such a conception must have arisen, scarcely admits of question; but of the satisfaction of such a want, there is no talking even for a moment. Not only in its rise does his ideal Republic appear to be set loose and free from all historical relations and circumstances; but also after it has come into existence, it is not brought into any relation or any reference to the world as it is. All that Ritter remarks with regard to the connection between the Platonic state and the world (see Geschichte der Philosophie ii. 462, 463), are not historical notions, but pure abstractions. There is certainly truth in what Ackerman advances: "The heathen generally (not excepting

Plato) had no idea of a history of the world, governed by God's providence, and tending to God." All they saw and recognised in the world, was a totality, and not a history or course of events, ruled and ordered by the Divine will. It is true, that Plato (see Polit. 289, e.) does speak of an interference on God's part in the affairs of the world—of a turning and disposing of its course unto God. On a more careful consideration, however, we find ourselves carried by all this to no higher idea than that of the stream of mundane things. This flow of the things of the world, so far from being history in the true sense of the term, does not go beyond the category of oscillation; and consequently is but a physical process (see Stud. u. Kritik. 1839. 4. 913. 914). This narrowness of the view of history is traceable also among those who were properly writers of history. That which stamps the narratives of Herodotus with the real dignity of true historical painting, is the grand idea of the importance, in the history of the whole world, of Greek liberty and civilisation, in its victorious struggle against the mighty strength and boundless resources of the emperor of Persia. When, however, the liberty and civilisation of Greece had been proved by their subsequent course to be but a limited and transient influence, this blush of a mundane significance necessarily died away from Grecian history. The strength of Thucydides and Xenophon consisted in nothing but their quickness to seize and their power to delineate details; in the former, any historical element of universal bearing is but the tragic form, and in the latter, the desolation of utter despair and negation. And exactly so is it with the Roman composition of history in a later age. As long as the power of the Roman people was as yet advancing, and in development, it was impossible for the writers to speak of the position of Rome in the midst of the whole world, without cherishing some thoughts belonging to universal history. But as soon as an insight began to open with evergrowing clearness into the internal corruption of the Roman body, this stay could not but fall away, and the historian had nothing to do but to report the symptoms of growing disease and dissolution without solace and without hope for the future. The histories of Sallust and Tacitus set in darkness and in night.

Accordingly, the result we arrive at is, that the true design of God in the history of nations had not been attained to, and that,

consequently, the historical movement of antiquity, truly and properly speaking, had run its course without an aim. And this is the Apostle's meaning, when, in ver. 30, he speaks of the times of ignorance which God had been willing to overlook. The ignorance he means, as follows from the context, is the ignorance of God which St Paul had already predicted of the Athenians. And, in like manner, this assumption is the ground of the exhortation to repentance and change of mind, which, according to the declaration in ver. 30, has gone forth to all men everywhere. For the right tone of mind towards the Deity cannot have existed anywhere; and, consequently, the true end of God's providence, that by their fortunes and circumstances the nations of the earth should learn to know Him, and to be conscious of His power, cannot have been reached anywhere. If, moreover (what is evidently implied in this requisition), from the case of Athens, where St Paul had before his eyes the proofs of this ignorance of God, he draws the further inference, and includes under the same condemnation, the whole multitude of nations and lands; he had, as already remarked, ample justification for so doing, in the historical position of Athens; and in this generalisation he might reckon on being understood by his hearers, even on account of this eminent position of their city, which they were all proudly conscious of, and indeed to a greater degree than was desirable. But now the question arises, whether by his declaration concerning the end of the history of all nations, in which he at the same time designated this end as being as yet nowhere attained to, St Paul does not awaken and encourage the same inconsolable hopelessness, which we so recently described as the characteristic of the inadequate view of history which the Greeks and Romans entertained. There is a great difference between the condemnation which St Paul pronounces on the times past, and that of Tacitus. The latter expresses his own painful, bitter judgment, and is unable to add aught to it; the former cuts still deeper with his complaint, —but it is only to announce and to effect the cure of the hurt. The audience whom St Paul saw before him, belong to that very people whom he especially blames as having lost sight of the Divinely-appointed limits, and the times and seasons Divinely ordered. If they, then, will listen to the voice of the Apostle,

they may still be able to comprehend all the works of God in the historical and geographical relations of their own nation, and to lay them to heart; and if those who are there present will begin really to bewail and to weep for the folly and blindness of their forefathers, and of their whole people, in having so ungratefully failed to recognise the operations of Divine power and goodness, then God's providential dealings with this people would no longer remain misunderstood—no longer be fruitless and in vain;—then would that object be really attained which God had purposed in his government of the people—his design to be discerned by them and acknowledged. It is true, we are told by St Luke, that the effect which the Apostle's address had upon his hearers was very inconsiderable. Nowhere before had St Paul condescended with so much love, and such earnestness, to the peculiarities of his hearers, which were both singular and strange to him, and scarcely anywhere did he meet with so little success. Luke, however, has a better standard for estimating the value of the speech at the Areopagus than its momentary consequences: he was convinced that the less effect it had at the time, the greater must be its importance for the future. And in fact it is so. Christian Europe has become the heir of Athenian civilization, and as such has received the task of taking up and making good the duty which both the Hellenic and the Attic people had despised and neglected. The enlightenment of Europe, which Athens was the means of disseminating, must first of all place itself in presence of the Areopagitic address of St Paul, and join Dionysius, and not the mockers; and then, with this speech for its guide, it must wander over the whole domain of history and geography, which has been made accessible to us even by the writings and eloquence of Greece, and study it in order to be able at last to recognise and to magnify in all the times and seasons, and regions of the earth, those holy and venerable traces of the unknown God. Ever since the Christian view of the world found acceptance among the nations of the West, this work also, by which the ancient history of nations is to reach its consummation, has been commenced; but that it has been finished, we are still very far from being able to assert. In its first stadium, this view of the world adhered throughout, in the closest manner possible, to the express declarations and state-

ments of Holy Writ. By it, at all events, a foundation has been laid for a right method of consideration. Instead of the endless multiplicity of mundane forces and objects, in which the heathen view entangled itself; the will and the word of God was introduced as the unifying centre of a right contemplation of the world. What, however, was wanting, was a free entering into, and consideration, resting on this Divine centre, of the given multiplicity and fulness which is in the world. For by that method the immediate reference of all to God, in the consideration of the seasons and the divisions of the world, becomes monotonous and wearisome; that multiplicity and fulness which has been appointed by God suffers under this theological view of the mundane system. This onesidedness brought on another onesidedness. The view of the world advanced by the modern generations of Europe entered upon a second stage. Full consideration was given to the multiplicity and fulness of mundane things, without a due consciousness prevailing of the unitary Divine centre which is in the world—nay, indeed, occasionally it was joined with the heathenish assumption of an independent cosmos. In this stadium, the knowledge of the world in its collective physical and historical reality, was cultivated and prized to an extent and in a degree which it had never before known. At present we are involved in the very passage from this stage to the third. That mode of viewing the world which allows the cosmical potencies to attain to their due estimation, is thoroughly empirical and atomistic, and in this consists its imperfection, and hence, also, arises the necessity to advance beyond it; there is need of rising to a totality; it requires to be organically completed and finished. Now, this way of considering the world, totally devoid of any stay or duration, possesses two strong attractions; and consequently two cases are possible as regards the coming transition; the deficient totality may be looked for and found in God, or it may be looked for and found in the cosmos. The empirical theory of the world can complete and perfect its organism, either theistically or pantheistically—in a Christian spirit or in a heathen spirit; to the former transition the first impulse points, which the consideration of the world received from faith and from the Spirit of God; while the second is suggested by its connection with the

natural basis of nations. With the latter fulfilment of it, which, instead of annulling the ancient ignorance of nations by turning them to God, does even repeat it again, and fills up its measure with a double consciousness of guilt, we have nothing here to do; but still, in order to enable us duly to estimate the whole pregnant extent of the speech of the Apostle on the Athenian Areopagus, as well as the whole significance of the universal point of view from which St Luke contemplated and judged of the subject-matter of his history, it will be serviceable to sketch, with a few touches, the other line of development as it bears on the fundamental ideas which have been here advanced by St Paul, and also elucidated above.

The specific unity of the human race which St Paul places at the head of his fundamental view of history was, for a long time, altogether renounced, and called into question by a science which had set itself free from all deference to the authority of Scripture and the Church. For after that anthropology had ceased to be a subject exclusively of theology and philosophy; and when physiology had also taken possession of it, there was a danger of the specific character of man being lost altogether in the comprehension of science. When even Linnæus had advanced the position: "nullum characterem eruere potui, unde homo a simia internoscatur," there arose a succession of theories with regard to the origin of man, which, paying no attention to the essence of the human soul, and directing the eye exclusively to the corporeal, put forward disparaging and humiliating views of his nature (cf. Wagner Geschichte der Urwelt. S. 409—415). In the same degree, consequently, as man was placed in the same line with the other objects of nature, and robbed of his kingly dignity, the external varieties and contrasts of his bodily manifestations necessarily appeared the more important, and the more essential; and so, on the basis of these observed facts, the view of originally different origines of mankind was built up almost to an universal conviction. And, then, alongside of this predominantly physical consideration of man, great weight was, moreover, laid upon an essential connection between nations and their climates; and the view was adopted very widely among modern historians, "as God has assigned to every land its plants and animals which are peculiar to it and belong to it, so in different

lands we must also look for the origines of the different races of men dependent on the varying climate of those countries" (see Leo Universal-geschichte i. 7, 8). This old heathenish doctrine of autochthonism has been advanced, among others, by Niebuhr with especial fondness (see Romische Geschichte i. 37, 38, 1 Ausg. Eng. Trans. 1 ed. p. 39). In most recent days, however, science has abandoned this exclusive physical theory of mankind; and it has recognised more and more fully the necessity of studying man in his totality, and also of not regarding him as a parcel and piece of the natural system, but as the born head of all nature. Instead of throwing man, with Oken, into the primeval medley of chaos, the opposite thought has become habitual, and people hold what Novalis thus expresses—"we are engaged in a mission; we have been called to mould and to dress the earth." And from these fundamental ideas a new science of geography has been formed, which, ceasing to look upon the earth, with its lands and seas, as a something given, prepared, and settled, strives to comprehend all the natural relations, products, and powers of the earth, and its several regions, in their vital and reciprocal relations to man. This intellectual and historical view of geography, which forms the peculiar destination of the Erdkunde of Carl Ritter, smooths the way for the transition to that knowledge whose results St Paul has summed up in the position: God hath determined the bounds of the habitations of men, in order that from them they might seek to know and to acknowledge Him. Consequently, in the same proportion that the kingly signature of the human intellect attains to a fuller recognition, that over-estimation of differences of colour and skull, will be reduced again to its due measure, and the uneradicable idea of an unity and an intellectual relationship between all the families of man must again make way and establish itself. Now, at length the investigation of nature begins to open its eyes; it recognises the fallacies of earlier investigations and proofs, and it has successfully advanced, even on its own domain, solid and well-ascertained proofs, as well of man's exclusive position in nature, as of the unity of his race (see A. Wagner. Geschichte der Urwelt S. 440, 446; A. v. Humboldt. Kosmos 379—385). And even from the position of history does science arrive at the same result. "As truly as in history one Spirit unfolds itself," writes

Wuttke (Geschichte des Heidenthums i. 27, 28), "as truly as it is one organisation, so truly is the human family of one race, and not divided at its origin into many primal men. God has made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth. This thought is of far more importance than most people believe, for the rational understanding of the history of the world."

St Paul, it is true, does not stand still at this natural issue and beginning of all history of mankind. On the contrary, with his Divine testimony, he throws a light upon the course and complications of the later epochs and æras of nations, both collectively and separately. We have seen how the significantly emphatic mention of the καιροὶ directed us pre-eminently to the great epochs of the world which Daniel has made known. The Christian view of the world originally adopted that conception of universal history which was therein hinted at. The apprehension and delineation of the history of the world, on the scheme of the four universal empires, prevailed in Germany down to Gatterer. Since, however, this theory, by its slavish and uncompromising adherence to the scheme derived from the Book of Daniel, did not allow free scope and full justice to the manifoldness and realities of the relations of the world, and of nations, the time arrived consequently for an emancipation from such a pupillage under sacred authority. Historical investigation entered upon the discovery and statement of particular branches in such wise as totally to forget everything like unity and general progress. Certain is it that by the direction to particulars thus given to historical investigation, material service has been rendered to the truth of history, and that thereby a foundation, previously wanting, was laid for a complete conception of history. Nevertheless, in these separate treatises of history, though they may be never so comprehensive, never so grand, it is possible to find satisfaction only so long as the feeling of novelty is still fresh. That historical investigation and conception of history which originally started from the impulse of the Christian view of the world, must invariably come back to the search after a totality, such as St Paul presented to the minds of the Athenians. And this return from the tendency to isolated studies to the investigation of the whole, has also already taken place. But inasmuch as we

are here concerned with the due estimation of St Paul's speech, as given in the historical narrative of St Luke, we may perhaps be allowed to point out how very far we still stand from the aim which, in his speech at Athens, St Paul set up for Christian history, and to call attention to some characteristics of modern history as bearing thereupon. Johannes v. Muller, guided by his biblical studies and recollections, has cast many a profound glance into the inner meaning of historical events, and occasionally, indeed, he rises to thoughts of a character truly befitting universal history, as for instance in the judgment he passes on the position of the Prophet Isaiah (see Allgemeine-Geschichte Buch 9. cap. 5. Sammtliche Werke i. 56); but he seems to have no conception of the importance of Babylon in the history of the world. On the whole J. V. Muller is a steadfast disciple of Gatterer and Schlosser, as regards the total conception of the history of the world. That in that view of history which makes the people of God the centre of all movement and development—and which he calls the theological arrangement and disposition of history, a profound truth is involved, even Barthold Niebuhr could divine (see Niebuhr Vorlesungen uber alte Geschichte 1. 6.). But from a respect for such view to the adoption of it, and the working of it out, there is naturally a great step still to be made. Lastly, it was the immediate object of Heinrich Leo to make a real beginning on that path of development which has here been marked out; and by setting up before him the universal historical thoughts in the speech of St Paul at Athens, he laid himself under the obligation of maintaining the course here indicated; and yet he was unable to see anything more than "a good tact" in that division of universal history into the four periods of the great empires. Hence he rejects the biblical foundation, together with the defective attempts which have been made to work it out (see Lehrbuch der Universal-geschichte i. 33). At present universal history has not got beyond the position taken up by Herodotus; for although it does over-look a more extensive domain, and recognizes higher aims, still the sphere of vision remains all the while limited by national and individual considerations. It is, therefore, quite consistent that Herodotus should be designated the father of history, whereas, in truth, it was not Herodotus, but Moses, who was the first to sketch the true ground-lines of universal history.

We see that St Paul, while striving to satisfy fully and completely the needs of the immediate present—*i.e.*, the needs of his Athenian auditory, does at the same time not only reach and penetrate into our immediate present, but also even propounds the goal which a future development is to strive after. How evident is it that St Luke did not act from his own mind, but under the influence of the Holy Ghost, when he but hastily touched upon the labours of the Apostle in Galatia, so fertile in in its consequences, in order to be able to communicate to us at length his speech in Athens, which was so destitute of immediate results. But we have as yet very far from surveyed all the riches of this address.

After having distinctly and emphatically declared the transcendent relation in which God stands, as well to the physical condition of the world as to the historical development of the human race, he felt it as a need to testify, in this place, what is God's immanent relation to the world. The Divine government of the world, on the whole, is calculated to bring home to the minds and consciences both of nations and individuals, the presence of the Divine goodness and power more intelligibly and more emphatically than it is likely to be recognized through, and by means of, the assumed and admitted relations between God and the individual man. This relation is indicated by St Paul in the words: "In whom we live and move and have our being" (ver. 28). What is meant by these words is not the common and indifferent relation of the Deity to the world, and to all things in it, but (as the explanation and application of these words which follows incontrovertibly proves—see Neander Geschichte der Pflanzung u. Leit. i. 254, 255) the relation of God to mankind. God is, therefore, spoken of as the source of human life and existence, and (as the passage from the Poet, which St Paul quotes, further demonstates) this immanent relation has its ground in the fact that, by his origin, man participates in the Divine nature. Undoubtedly, at the first sight, this declaration of the Apostle may seem to us strange; for Scripture throughout has for its object to establish the transcendental relation between God and the world, between God and man. However, Scripture is very far from denying this immanent relation; on the contrary, the latter serves for the assumption of the central point of its whole system,

the doctrine of the incarnation of Jesus Christ. For how can He who has proved himself the Son of God become and remain man unless human nature from the beginning were capax divinæ naturæ? and how can man's nature be so, unless, from the beginning, he enjoyed a community of essence with the Godhead? But, indeed, there is no want of indication of this hypothesis in holy writ. At the creation we are emphatically told how Jehovah Elohim breathed into the image made from the dust of the earth (Gen. ii. 7) the breath of life; and therefore, it is the breath of the Almighty himself that giveth life to the individual man (see Job. xxxiii. 4, xxxii. 8), and the breath of the life of man admits of being called the candle of the Lord (see Prov. xx. 27). Lastly, the introduction to the Gospel of St John, in so far as it treats generally of the original relation of the Logos to the world, and to man especially (cf. c. 4), has essentially this object in view to awaken a consciousness of this hypothesis, which lies at the very foundation of all preaching of the incarnation of the Logos, who was God. It is no doubt quite certain that Scripture nowhere asserts this immanent relation between God and man, so expressly and so directly as in the passage before us. The cause of this can be found only in the historical bearing of this paragraph, and here, indeed, it is easily found. From all that we have hitherto learned of St Paul's residence in Athens, it clearly follows that the Apostle had made it his first purpose to enter into and adapt himself to the essential peculiarities of the Athenian character, which may well be regarded as the soul of the whole of Hellenism. Now, the conception which the heathen mind formed of the relation between God and man is directly the reverse of that which we have just seen is the token of it in Holy Writ. Whereas Scripture keeps pre-eminently in view the transcendental relation, and seeks to enforce its recognition, the heathen conscience is unable to get beyond the immanent relation; and since Scripture gives its testimony to the world, it is even the reference to this consciousness universally diffused in the world, that in this regard Scripture establishes together with the other. And it is precisely in this direction that St Paul's testimony in Athens proceeds. First of all, he exhibits the world with all that belongs to it, and more especially the human race in its actual state as well as in its developments, as completely dependent on the will

and power of God, and thereby reflects on the night of the heathen mind, a bright ray of knowledge. And when, by so doing, he had done justice to the truth in opposition to the conceptions of heathendom, he feels the necessity of entering upon that portion of the truth which had been manifested to the heathens, but which, in consequence of its having been exclusively apprehended, as the whole of the relation, seemed to have been converted into a lie, and which, even on that account, must have appeared to the Apostle to call the more for correction.

The view of the world which the Greek mind had formed, differed from that entertained by the heathens generally. It had raised itself from the natural point of view, by which the heathen intellect of the east was fettered, to that view which regards man as the being exalted above nature and as the centre of the earthly sphere. And this becomes especially manifest in the fact, that far above every other the mythology of Greece possesses a human character; as, indeed, Cicero thinking in this respect in the very spirit of a Greek, expresses himself on this subject in these words: quid igitur mirum, si hoc eodem modo homini natura præscripsit ut nihil pulcrius quam hominem putaret, eam esse causam cur Deos hominum similes putaremus (De. N. D. i. 27, 77)? In this exaltation of man above all the rest of nature, which in the Hellenic character was so consciously and so pervadingly asserted, there was contained an inkling of the singular and kingly position which Scripture assigns to man in the world. If then, moreover, the Hellenic conviction of the immanence of God in the world assumes such a shape, that it asserted the existence of Deity pre-eminently in man, this is but the Hellenic perversion of what the Scripture either expressly asserts, or silently assumes, concerning the Divinity of man's nature. That it was properly the Apostle's object at once to acknowledge this element of truth in the thoughts of the Greek mind, and to restore it to its due position, we see quite indubitably from his further declaration concerning the poets, and from the quotation of a pertinent poetic passage. It is well known that the verse to which St Paul refers, is taken from the Phœnomena of Aratus of Cilicia, and as Grotius correctly observes, this citation reminds us of the poet's native land. How and when, then, are we to think that the Apostle formed his acquaintance with Aratus? As he had gone to Jerusalem in his

early youth to acquire all the learning of the Jews (see xxii. 3), the knowledge of Greek literature could not have been gained in his youth. But we remember now that St Paul, after he had received from the Lord, in the temple at Jerusalem, the express command to go "afar off" (see xxii. 17—21; cf. ix. 29, 30), retired to Tarsus. Now, of Tarsus, the native city of St Paul, we have a remarkable testimony from Strabo, which thus runs: *τοσαύτη τοῖς ἐνθάδε ἀνθρώποις σπουδὴ πρὸς τε φιλοσοφίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐγκύκλιον πάσαν παιδείαν γέγονεν, ὥσθ' ὑπερβέβληνται καὶ Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλον τόπον δύνατον εἰπεῖν, ἐν ᾧ σχολαὶ και διατριβαὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ τῶν λόγων γεγόνασι* (see Strabo 14, 771, in J. F. Guhlingius de lingua Lycaonica in Syllog. Dissertt. 11, 658). Now, when we further remember, that during this his second visit to his native city, St Paul abstained from labouring publicly in his vocation; what could appear more natural, than for him to employ faithfully and diligently the opportunity which here offered, during the interval of repose which was still vouchsafed him, to acquaint himself as intimately as possible with the intellectual riches of that region to which he had been so very distinctly assigned by the express word of His Lord? For, evidently, his knowledge of this verse of Aratus, is not a sentiment accidentally caught up, as is demonstrated by the circumstance, that in the same paragraph the Apostle appeals to other poets; for the plural here used is by no means the indefinite designation of the class which might, it is admitted, be applied to a single instance. For St Paul does not say, *ποιηταὶ καθ' ὑμᾶς* but *τινες τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν*. We must, therefore, assume that St Paul was aware of other perfectly similar passages in the poets, well-known to his Athenian hearers. And, in fact, among the works of the poets still extant, perfectly similar assertions are found, as is shewn in the collection of Wetstein (ii. 570, 571). And, besides, we must remember that in other places the Apostle has given proofs of his acquaintance with the poets of Greece; that in other places, as well as this, he quotes the words of Greek poets (see 1 Cor. xv. 33; Tit. i. 12). From these facts we may confidently draw the conclusion, that as soon as St Paul had received his call to labour among the Gentiles afar off—by which term (looking at the existing relations of things which St Luke, in his history, gradually bring

home to our minds) he could scarcely have understood any others than the Greeks themselves, and men trained and formed by the mental culture of Greece; and when he had retired to his native city, Tarsus (so distinguished for its literary tastes and pursuits) he set earnestly to work during that period of preparation to acquaint himself thoroughly with the literature of Greece. Moreover, it also appears to me to be highly probable that the books mentioned, together with the cloak in 2 Tim. iv. 13, and no further described, must have belonged to the same literature. If St Paul did not feel it beneath him to go about and see Athens, and to decipher the inscriptions on the works of art, he would not, most assuredly, have left it to chance, whether or not he should possess a knowledge of that branch of literature on which the mental physiognomy of the Greek and Roman world was most clearly and most significantly impressed.

Now, although there can be no doubt that the sentiment of Aratus was originally conceived in a heathen and pantheistic sense, St Paul, nevertheless has not only no aversion for the declaration itself, but even takes it as it runs; for he goes on to say, *γένος οὖν ὑπάρχοντες τοῦ θεοῦ* ver. 29; since he feels confident of this, that, viz., whosoever is willing to follow his testimony, would soon put aside the pantheistic element which, in the contour of the heathen mind, clung fast to these words. As in the mighty power of such love and self-renunciation, the Apostle adopts more and more entirely the position and the style of thought, and the modes of expression peculiar to his hearers, it becomes possible for him, by a wholly peculiar, but most impressive turn, to assault anew the citadel of Athenian heathenism. St Paul was standing on Mar's Hill, in view of the Acropolis, which presents such a rich abundance of works of art that Heliodorus wrote a treatise in fifteen books about them (see Jacob's Vermischte iii. 487). In presence of these works, of which no doubt many, as, for instance, the colossal statue of Pallas Athene, could be distinctly seen, the Apostle went on to assert that "we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold or silver, or stone graven by art and man's device" (ver. 29). Now, first of all, in respect to this cutting reproof, we must come to a clear understanding on the point, how far it actually affected the Athenians; and, secondly, form a distinct notion of the

peculiar argument of which St Paul here makes use. For it is very possible to object to this reproach of the Apostle's, that the educated heathen, and especially those of Athens, were careful to distinguish between the images and the gods; and that, consequently, it was not consistent with the truth to reproach them with such identification of the living deities with the lifeless idols. And in this respect, consideration will be claimed on the other hand to those declarations which expressly assert, that it is absolutely impossible to express the Divine essence; and on the other hand, to such statements as had for their object to point out the difference between the images and the Divine nature which they represent, and thereby to reconcile an idolatrous worship with a purer theology. Such declarations are numerous, and Wetstein has collected many (ii. 571 ad. ver. 29) such as: *θεὸν—μὴ εἶναι —ἀνθρωπόμορφον* a saying of Zeno's; and

> *εἷς θεὸς ἔντε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστος*
> *οὔτε δέμας θνητοῖσιν ὁμοίΐος οὔδε νόημα*

from Xenophones; and from Seneca, non potest ex auro aut argento imago Deo exprimi similis. On the other hand, an apology of images is contained in a passage of Maximus Tyrius, which is likewise to be found in Wetstein: *τὸ μὲν ἑλληνὶκον τιμᾷν τοὺς θεοὺς ἐνόμισε τῶν ἐν γῇ καλλίστοις, ὕλῃ μὲν καθαρᾷ, μορφῇ δὲ ἀνθρωπὶνῃ, τέχνῃδὲ ἀκριβεῖ* and in the same spirit Dio Chrysostom speaks in a remarkable passage which Jacobs has given a translation of, in his Vermischte Schriften (iii. 550, 551). "Let no one say that it would be better, perhaps, to have no images of the Divine Being, since man ought only to look up to the Heavenly; for, whoever has any sense, honours that, and believes that therein he has a distant view of the gods. But there is inherent in all men a vehement longing to be able to worship the gods near at hand; to minister to them, to handle them, to go up to them, to carry to them garlands and offerings, and just as children who, when they are separated from their parents, out of longing and wishing for them, stretch out their hands towards them, even though they are not present; so men rightly loving the gods as their benefactors, and as beings akin to themselves, cherish a desire in every way possible to be together with them, and on this account many barbarians, in the

absence of artistic works, give the names of gods to mountains, and to barren trees, and to shapeless stones." In fact, since the Greeks on the one hand speak with so much of clear consciousness on the absolute nature of the Divine Being; and on the other, express themselves with so much of eloquence on the needs of man, we may well hesitate a moment as to the justice of the bold reproach which St Paul has cast upon the art-loving Athenians. And with this question we must again take up the kindred objection which, in the beginning of his speech, he had drawn from the temples and sacrificial worship of the gods (see vv. 24, 25), and as regards this point also, there lie before us the most precise statements on the part of the Greeks to the effect that man ought not to look upon the Divine nature as in any respect subject to want or need. The collection of such passages in Wetstein on ver. 25, is even still more rich than the former. Let us bring before our minds such averments as the following; *ὅστις τίμᾷ θεὸν ὡς προσδεόμενον, οὗτος λέληθεν οἰόμενος ἑαυτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι κρεῖττονα* says Hierocles; omnis divum natura —nihil indiga nostri, are the words of Lucretius, while Menedemús avers that *θεῶν μὲν ἴδιον μηδένος δεῖσθαι;* and Seneca declares, Socrates dicere solitus, eum diis esse simillimum qui quam paucissimus egeret, cum Dii nullius egeant rei, and lastly Simplicius observes, *οὐ δεῖται τούτων ὁ θεὸς, οὔτε γὰρ τῆς εὐζωΐας δεῖται τῆς ἡμετέρας, οὐδὲ τῶν ὀρθῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐννοιῶν.* And as regards the defence of temples and sacrifices from this point of view of a pure knowledge of God; in these respects also attention is due to the extracts already given from Maximus Tyrius, and Dio Chrysostom, as well to as the following words of Cicero: patrum delubra esse in urbibus censeo, nec sequor Magos Persarum, quibus auctoribus Xerxes inflammasse templa Graeciæ dicitur, quod parietibus includerent Deos, quibus omnia deberent esse patentia ac libera, quorumque hic mundus templum esset et domus. Melius Græci atque nostri, qui ut augerent pietatem in deos, easdemque illos quas nos urbes incolere voluerunt; affert enim hæc opinio religionem utilem civitatibus (see de legibus ii. 10, 26).

Now, on comparing such testimonies of heathenism itself on the subjects of temples, sacrifices, and images of the gods with the complaints here uttered by St Paul, one might very naturally

come to think, that in this judgment the Apostle had not kept himself altogether free from the influence of his Jewish exclusiveness. For, at the same time, the fact cannot escape our observation that this condemnation of the Apostle does not stand alone, but that on the contrary it stands in the closest possible connection with many passages of the Old Testament, nay, indeed, with the view of heathenism which the Old Testament takes throughout. For in its books it is quite a custom to assume, without further preface, the identification in the minds of the heathen of their gods and the representatives of them; and on this ground to make constant attacks upon heathenism cf. Ps. cxv. 4—8; Isai. ii. 20; xxx. 22; xl. 18—20; xliv. 9—20; Jer. li. 17. Since then, with reference to these and similar passages, (which, however, relate only to the ruder form of idolatry which prevailed among the Gentiles dwelling around Israel) De Wette can say with some show of reason, "The Jew accustomed to no image or likeness of God, falls into the error,—perhaps not without design, of holding the idols of the heathen to be their gods, although really they were only their symbols (see Commentar. Ps. cxv. 4—7); with how much more propriety may this be said in defence of the undeniably more spiritual character of the Greeks, both in their art and worship, and be made available against the complaints of the Apostle." The objections which Jacobs brings against the fathers and earlier teachers of the Church with regard to their prejudices against the employment of works of art in Christian worship (see vermischte Schriften iii. 457. 458. 546. 549), apply, in all essential points, to the declarations of the Apostle Paul in this passage. Now, it is easy to see that before such a view of these declarations of St Paul, all that which we have hitherto been regarding as so prominent a peculiarity in the conduct of St Paul in Athens, will fall again to the ground. That is to say, if these complaints of St Paul in Athens against the Greek mode of worship and Grecian art were unjust, he certainly must have been wanting in a due condescension to the profoundest peculiarities of these heathens; and must have remained tied up only too closely in the narrow bonds of national and personal prejudices.

However, we must not allow ourselves to be deceived by appearances, but we must make our way through them to the truth

itself, and in so doing we shall find everything assuming quite a different shape. In other words, we must not overlook what it was that formed the fundamental view of the Divine nature in heathendom; and above which even the Hellenic mind was not able to rise. We have already seen that to heathendom generally and not the less even to Hellenism, there was a total absence of a thorough and well sustained separation between God and the universe, that, from the very beginning to the end, the idea of the Divine was fettered with the limits of the mundane. Those isolated declarations, consequently, which assert the absolute independence of the Divine being are consequently but abstract ideas which do indeed convey an inkling of the truth, but possesses no vital energy. The general popular notion of the gods and of their nature was stamped on their myths, their hymns, and religious ceremonies; and this idea held its way undisturbed by all their philosophical thoughts and well-meaning words that went on alongside of it. In the Homeric songs the gods are by no means raised so high above the imperfections and finiteness of humanity as these sentences run, but they have all their several interests and passions; and as regards the absence of all need or want, it is undeniable that they all, without exception, lay no little stress upon hecatombs. Naturally it was in this shape that the gods lived in the minds and consciences of the people, and it could not fail to happen sometimes that a vicious character would excuse and justify himself by the vices of the gods (cf. Aristoph. Nub. 1046. Terent. eunuch. Bion in Clem. Alexand. Adm. p. 27. c.). It is true that we do meet at a very early date with a reaction against this unworthy mode of handling the Divine by the poets. According to Diogenes Laertius, even Pythagoras evinced great zeal in condemnation of the theology of Homer (see 8. 21), and the same is also reported of Zenophanes of Elea (see Diog. Laert. 9. 18). It was fundamentally this same contest that Socrates took up and carried on, and for which he was doomed to suffer death. But notwithstanding this sad issue, the conflict was inherited by the two greatest Socratic philosophers of antiquity, Plato and Aristotle. At much length does Plato contest the authority of the poets in religious matters, and on this account he proposes that they should be banished from his republic (see Politeia ii. 377—383.), and Aristotle, who in his Metaphys 1. 2. passes on them the short but sharp

sentence of condemnation πολλὰ ψένδονται ἀοιδοί; in his Polit. 7. 18. is willing that offensive scenes derived from the region of mythology should be prohibited by the public authorities. But this resistance amounts to nothing more, than that the impurity of the prevailing notions concerning the Divine nature was indeed acknowledged; but that there was no power existing which could overcome it—not even in these representatives of a purer conception of the Divinity. If, as is proved by the account of his death, Socrates himself was unable to rise above the myths, we shall still less expect of a Plato, or an Aristotle, a total emancipation from this power. And so we even find it to be. Although in the second book of his republic he passes so severe and unqualified a condemnation on the conception of the religious sentiments by the poets; in his tenth book, nevertheless, he does not venture to exclude from his republic the hymns of the poets in praise of the gods; and in the same way Aristotle, likewise, notwithstanding that he considered that these uncontrolled representations of religious matters, the myths, were very pernicious, cannot venture to recommend that such emblems should be removed from the temples (see Polit. ibid.) Thus, too, as one may very well see, Æschylus would gladly have got rid of the fable of the conduct of Jupiter towards his father, but yet he does not venture to condemn it (see Eumen. 611. sq.). How then could an active and successful attack upon the secularisation of the idea of God be looked for there, where even the highest thoughts concerning God and the world invariably sunk again into the secular sphere. In the same way with Euripides the conception of the supreme God is confounded with that of the æther (see Jessen in Flensburger Programm v. I. 1849. S. 11. 12), and by the philosopher the Deity is only thought of as the soul of the world under the conceptions of the universal mundane fire or the mundane æther (see Ritter's Geschichte der Philosophie iii. 579. Eng. Transl. 539). With this clouding of the idea of God itself even in the clearest regions of Greek thought, the giving some external embodiment to the intellectual essence of the human soul was necessarily associated. According to this it follows as a self-evident consequence, that while attempting to render apparent the connection between the soul and the body, ideas forced themselves upon him which all but confounded with the notion of the soul the æther, and the all-

pervading warmth of life (see Ritter ibid. S. 578), and it fared no better with the Stoics, although, properly speaking, they directed their special attention to the spiritual and Divine nature of the soul (cf. Pfizer de *ἀποθεώσει* Pauli et Barnabæ. Syll. Dissert. ii. 654; see also Ritter ibid. 605). From this last circumstance we see that the idea of man, as little as the idea of God, was seized and worked out in its purity by these Greek thinkers. Consequently even the superior merit which elevates the Hellenic world so high above the oriental—the having opened out the sphere of man's consciousness of self instead of the mere consciousness of nature (cf. Hegel Philosophie der Geschichte S. 269, 27), is not completed—was very far from reaching its completion. And accordingly, even from the side of man's consciousness, which, in the religious domain, most certainly had made itself felt in its spiritualising tendency, it is plain that it had no permanent influence in keeping at a distance the tendency to secularize the Divine idea. The secularization, consequently, of the idea of God and the corporeal embodiment of man in the Cultus and in art, could not be overcome until a perfectly new spiritual and purely moral position should be given (cf. Gruneisen der Sittliche der bildenden Kunst bei den Griechen. S. 86).

Since then the highest power of spiritualizing conception, even in Hellenic heathendom, was not in a condition, either, with regard to the idea of man, or with regard to the idea of God, spiritually to enlighten the religious ideas of the people, the inevitable consequence was, that legend and poetry, art and worship, which furnished the conditions of the religious life of the people, and, without exception, moved within the sphere of external things, and in the universal consciousness, sunk the Divine invariably into the material, and so established more and more impenetrably the delusions, to which the carnal man is given up as a prey—that, viz., the Deity is confined by the limits of earthly things, and that man can work upon him as upon a thing (*προσδεόμενός τινος*), and that he is identical with those images, whether of description or of material form, which were employed to represent him. On this point, too, there is no want of express statements. Arnobius confesses that when he was a heathen, si quando conspexeram lubricatum lapidem, et ex olivi unguine sordidatum, tanquam inesset vis praesens, adulabar, affabar, et

beneficia poscebam nihil sentiente trunco (see de Wette Lehrbuch der hebr. Archæologie S. 188); and a host of proofs of the deification of venerated images and stones may be found in Creuzer's Symbolik und Mythologie. The complaint of Varro refers also to this. And it is well known that, according to Plut. Vit. c. 8, Numa Pompilius had prohibited all likenesses of the gods; and Varro, after having alluded to this total absence of images in the earliest ages of Rome, goes on to say: quod si adhuc mansisset, castius dii observarentur; qui enim primi simulacra posuerunt, ii et civitatibus metum dempserunt et errorem addidedunt (quoted by August. de C. D. 4, 31).

According, then, to all these facts, we may venture to assert our conviction, that when St Paul reproached the Athenians with their temple worship, and their adoration of images, he did in no wise do them wrong. How cautiously he guarded throughout against giving unnecessary offence to his hearers, is apparent even in the whole tenor of his complaint of their idolatry. For a Jew, it required great self-denial not to include without further remark, under the same condemnation, all their works of art, as well as their idols; as, however, St Paul had so far conquered himself as to inspect carefully in detail the monuments of art in the city connected with its idolatrous worship, so in this place he expresses himself with regard to their images in such a way as to give due consideration to their artistic character. First of all, he describes the materials of which they were made by the three noblest kinds; and, in the next place, he mentions the labour of art by which they were fashioned; while, lastly, he goes back to the ultimate ground of all artistic form, the device of man (ver. 29). Since, then, in this thorough manner, St Paul exercised such self-denying, indulgence for the peculiar views and feelings of others, it was rendered possible for him to derive from the inmost essence of these peculiarities themselves a striking confirmation of his own testimony. It was, for instance, the pride of the Greeks, and, above all others, of the Athenians, that they represented humanity after its noblest type; but it was even by conceding to them the glory that in this respect truly belonged to them, that he acquired the right to tell them that by their material idolatry they themselves destroyed again their glory, as pointing out the absolute dominion of God he had shewn them

that the whole system of their temples and sacrifices was a perversion of the true worship of the Deity; so he awakened attention to the pernicious tendency of idolatry by alluding to the spirituality and divinity of man's nature. In this way, consequently, he proved to the Athenians that they had mistaken the nature both of God and man. All that was involved in certain sentences of the poets regarding man's affinity with God; all that Socrates took as the starting point of all his thoughts—viz., the intellectual and moral nature of man, ought to have attained to wider influence and effect; the golden, the silver, and the marble statues of the gods in Athens, and on the Acropolis, these the characteristic and most significant works of the city, show, however, only too palpably that the words of the poets, and of Socrates, had been but mere shadows of the truth; for these lifeless figures of art are a degradation as much of man as of God. With justice does Meyer remark, "What a refined and stringent condemnation of the heathen worship is based on the dignity of man!"

In the portion of his speech which we have hitherto been considering, the Apostle has laid bare the defects of the poets; that which the Apostle censures, had in all essential respects been already condemned by others before him. No one, it is true, had taken upon him to pass sentence of condemnation with such inexorable sternness on these grave offences of the Hellenic character and general sentiments. And herein we have pointed out another great difference between the wisdom of the Greeks, and the preaching of the Apostles. With their condemnation of the perverse and the evil, the philosophers had got to the end of their ideas; for, how things must be corrected and amended was a subject on which none of them could speak with any confidence. But St Paul had appeared for this end alone, that he at last might tell the Athenians something new—viz., the presence of an order of things which differed so widely from all that had preceded it, that it was the first to bring to a completeness the whole of the unsatisfied past; and it was merely in order to smooth the road to this the essential purport of his message, that he reverted to the past. With the term τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρόνους τῆς ἀγνοίας ὑπεριδὼν ὁ θεὸς (ver. 30) he closes by an express announcement his consideration of their past history. He describes

all the periods that had passed as times of ignorance. It is true that he has been speaking of ignorance only in one respect. But inasmuch as God is the living centre of all things, the ignorance of God must have for its consequence a general darkening of the intellect with regard to every thing; the not knowing God must terminate in universal ignorance. And this fact had, in a very striking manner, been manifested in a point which St Paul brings forward for their consideration. Precisely the very domain to which the Delphic *γνῶθι σεαυτόν* had pointed, and on which the best and greatest thinkers of Athens had exercised their powers, was shewn by the Apostle to be a portion of that Hellenic ignorance which was all involved in the darkness of night. But if ignorance reigns in Athens, the city of Wisdom's goddess, what must be the case with the rest of the world? St Paul, consequently, had no scruple in extending at once to the whole of heathendom that which had been demonstrated of Athens, and, just as St Peter (see 1 Pet. i. 14) does, in reproaching the Gentiles universally with ignorance. Bengel, from a due consideration of the Grecian phraseology, has comprised in the following sentence all that is contained in *ὑπεριδών*. Deus transmisit tempora ignorantiæ, sive pœnitentiæ, fidei ac judicii prædicatione, ut si ipse non animadverteret, nec valde displiceret ei tantus error gentis humanæ; on which there is this much only to be further remarked, that the form *ὑπεριδων* combined with *τανῦν παραγγέλλει* intimates that this overlooking on God's part had now come to an end. For that this overlooking was only temporary, is shewn by the prospect which St Paul opens out of a day of judgment, which is to pass upon the whole earth, and, moreover, it is emphatically declared that this judgment will be held in righteousness (ver. 31). Bengel remarks, with good reason, that this mention of an universal righteous judgment on the hill, which was the seat of the most venerated court of justice in ancient times, must have been calculated to make a certain impression on the hearers. But now, if the whole world is to be placed before this tribunal of the last judgment, naturally the times of ignorance also will have to stand before it. Consequently, we must not by any means look upon the times of ignorance as put aside and annulled in consequence of this overlooking; by which idea Baur seems inclined to interpret the word (see der Apostel

Paulus S. 174). For it is simply by the fact that a day has been appointed for judging the whole world that this overlooking becomes reconciled with the previous assertion that all the fortunes and affairs of nations are under the guidance and government of God. This general connection of the end with the general beginnings and developments, possesses its full truth and reality in that change of sentiment which is set forth as required of all men (ver. 30). Those who at the time are alive, to whom the call of repentance goes forth, are, that is to say, those in whom the times of ignorance come to a close, they are the heirs of the whole of the past, and their repentance is the moral abrogation of all the guilt that these times of ignorance had incurred. But now, if the Apostle had stopped at this proclamation of an universal judgment, and at the requisition thus made on individuals to repent; still, even by that, he must have brought the preaching of the unknown God home to the consciences of individuals with the most impressive force. Had St Paul, however, had nothing more than that to say to the Athenians, and to lay before them, then all those who, with willing and devout minds, had followed his discourse up to this point, must have sunk beneath the weight which this knowledge of God laid upon their hearts. But St Paul went on to announce that the unknown God not only publishes requisitions, but also makes offers, and indeed in such wise that He does not insist on His requisitions until He has made His offers. In three respects does God condescend to the weakness of mankind. First of all, He has committed this judgment to a man, consequently to a Son of Man, whom He had ordained for this purpose (see Job. xx. 2; Isai. xxii. 17); in the second place, He has prepared an attestation of it for all minds (cf. the quotations in illustration of πίστιν παρέχειν in Wetstein ii. 572, 573); and lastly, He has raised from the dead the Man thus appointed and accredited as judge. St Paul had appealed to the natural development of the human race down to the immediate present; and had shewn that mankind had not fulfilled the Divine purpose, nor reached their destination; and that all the members of the human family without exception stood in need of repentance. If, then, judgment is to be passed on the whole of this development by a man, this at the same time points to a wholly different, and a perfectly new human

development. This human judge, however, appointed by God must not only be one totally different from all those who were ignorant and stood in deed of repentance; but if (what, according to the solemn announcement, and also the gravity of the final judgment could not but be expected) God is to have in Him a perfectly sinless organ of His own righteous will, He must also have overcome in, and put away from, Himself, the whole mass of sin which is in the world that he is to judge. Accordingly the idea of a human judge of the world carries us in thought to a new beginning of man's development which is spiritually to overcome and to repair again the times of man's ignorance, and thereby to render possible a satisfactory course and close of the history of humanity. For, inasmuch as He is partaker of a human nature and a human history, wherefore cannot He be a new beginning of the human race, even as much as (according to the introduction of the speech we are considering) the first man was? And, in fact, St Paul asserts this in the further words which he forthwith goes on to add to this proclamation of the Man who should be judge of the world, "whereof He hath given assurance to all men." For these words contain the declaration that God had it in view to furnish all men with a just conviction of the personality and the office of this human judge. What else can have been the intention of God, who had permitted the times of ignorance to run their course, and who now before the judgment comes allows a warning to precede it, and who points to a new course of the development of humanity, than to bring all men into the relation of communion with this new Man, who is able, in a spiritual manner, to bring round the deadly development of humanity to the goal of salvation. Of what nature this intended relation is, the Apostle does not expressly say; but he alludes to it in a very significant manner, as Bengel rightly remarks: pœnitentiam et fidem hic quoque Paulus prædicat; cunque fides Atheniensibus plane ignota sit, elegantissime ad eam duntaxat alludit phrasi illa πίστιν παρέχειν. Faith, therefore, as the just and legitimate consequence of the Divine attestation, is the bond which, just as the one blood unites all men with Adam, is, according to the gracious purpose of God, intended to unite all to the judge of the world.

When then, finally, a statement is added of that which con-

stituted the principal part of the attestation, a new element is at the same time communicated; and that is the raising up from the dead of Him who had been ordained to be the Judge. In this it is asserted that the most important attestation results in such a manner as that the human Judge appears to have entered upon a perfect communion with human suffering; since He must be conceived of as having died and been buried. But now, if death and the grave are the end of the natural man, the death and burial of the Man ordained to be the Judge, demonstrate that this end of the natural man is not the end of mankind absolutely; but that, on the contrary, in the new development, though death and the grave must be passed, they are destined to be only the passage to perfection and to glory. Now, by this threefold declaration, God appears as the Creator and Founder of a new order of things, in which lost mankind might still, and should, be carried to their destined end. In this way, by his preaching, did St Paul modify and convert that vague and inoperative inkling of the existence of the unknown God which he had discovered among the Athenians, into a higher knowledge of God, capable of endowing them with a new life. The knowledge which he brings to them is historical: God made the Heavens and the earth, and placed in them man as their living centre; the development of man, too, was guided and governed by God; man's perverse and evil bearing towards His will and counsels, the Almighty had at first permitted to go its own way; but that He nevertheless maintained His original relation to man, and consequently, also to sinful man with all his perversities, is demonstrated by the fact, that He has fixed a day of universal judgment. And thus into the indefinite notion of the unknown God, there has been introduced a knowledge of the revelation, which had been actually made, of the Divine justice. But not only is the unknown God a God of justice, but He is also just as much a God of mercy, and this, too, no less actually and historically. In the lost world God has created a new Man, in whom, it is decreed, the end of all human development will be attained; the possibility of taking part in the new beginning of humanity had been created for all men by God; and by the miraculous operation of the Deity, death and the grave have been humbled into the passage unto the highest glory. But just as the idea of God has

acquired in the preaching of St Paul an historical purport, so is it likewise with the idea of man. This, too, had an existence in the Athenian mind, as St Paul expressly admits; but it had not been retained in its reality, but had been grossly perverted, debased, and pulled down into the very dust of materialism. And in this regard, also, the speech of the Apostle comes in to correct, to purify, and to animate. He informs them that originally God had established one and the same relation between Himself and all men, and that, therefore, He had also entered into a moral relation to the national and geographical circumstances of men. And afterwards, it is added, that God had allowed the wickedness of nations and individuals to go on for a while only, but that He had already appointed a day to judge all men; the ethical and the spiritual essence of human nature is thereby historically established, as much as the justice of God; even though this Divine preservation of his true dignity must eventually prove to man a source of bitterest self-accusation. On this account, however, the painful sense of man's true dignity is associated, by way of compensation, with another and more joyful feeling of man's majesty. And this was conveyed in all that St Paul said of the inauguration of One to be the Judge of all the world, and of the possibility of all alike entering into a saving communion with this Man, in whom God is bringing to its close and perfection the history of the world and of mankind. Accordingly, they are no new ideas which St Paul announces to the Athenians; on the contrary, he, as he himself avows, takes for granted the existence among them of both these leading ideas—the idea of God, and the idea of man; their fault consisted merely in the fact, that they had not adopted these ideas, with a vital energy and a real influence; but that they allowed them to float about as mere ideas in the world of thought. What, therefore, St Paul had to do was to bring home to the memory of the Athenians those historical facts by which these ideas had been united with an earthly and a human reality, and which are calculated to give to them life and reality in the mind of every human being that lives and moves upon the earth (cf. Dietlein das Urchristenthum. S. 20, 21).

The whole of St Paul's proceedings in Athens, and especially his discourse at the Areopagus, have shown to us how great was

the love and self-denial with which he entered into peculiar modes of thinking and feeling, both foreign to and remote from his own. The more decided consequently must have been the reception given to his speech. "And when they heard of the Resurrection of the dead, some mocked; and others said, we will hear thee again of this matter" (ver. 32). Consequently, from some mockery, from others a polite avowal of disinclination to hear any further explanations, was all that the Apostle gained, with all his love and truth, with all his self-denial and delicacy! Judging from this result, we must, without doubt, assume that the hearers of St Paul, on the Areopagus, had long before taken offence, at the earnestness and profundity of his address; that, from their frivolity, they were so little capable of doing justice to St Paul's motives, if, with such impressiveness, he sought to bring to light the depths of their own inmost consciousness, and of their own historical past, that such a way of thinking appeared, on the contrary, an offence to them. And we must suppose their tone of mind to have been such that they only waited for an opportunity to make their displeasure known. This occasion was furnished them partly by the preliminary close of his address, and partly by the mention of the Resurrection of the dead. Even before this, the mention of the Resurrection of the dead, by the mouth of St Paul, had struck them as something strange (see ver. 18), and now the whole absurdity of St Paul's address appears to them concentrated in these words.

Our modern critics, in their usual fashion, take offence at the mention of the Resurrection. While Baur maintains that it is not easy to see why the doctrine of the Resurrection should even at that time have been likely to give offence to the heathen (see der Apostel Paulus s. 174), Zeller considers the mention of it in this speech of St Paul abrupt and unprepared, (see Theolog. Jahrb. 1849, S. 544), and then both agree, that in the narrative before us, we are treading on perfectly unhistorical ground. But as regards the latter objection, we think it enough to appeal to the consistency of all the parts of St Paul's address as previously pointed out by us, and to maintain that, as this objection rests on a misapprehension of the Apostle's preaching, so the other arises out of a want of knowledge of Grecian an-

tiquity. Baur himself knows (and, in his disquisition on St Paul's residence in Athens, makes use of his knowledge) that the doctrine of the Resurrection did cause the greatest offence among the Greeks in later days. All, therefore, that here appears to him a violation of the truth of history is simply the fact, that the first testimony to the Resurrection of the dead should have called forth such ill-will in Athens. But, now, if Baur had but seriously put to himself the question: what it was that in later days gave rise to this opposition on the part of the Greek heathens to the Christian hope of the Resurrection, he would without doubt have found that the same cause must have been at work in the days of St Paul also. The Resurrection from the dead implies, as its ground, the utter nullity and vanity of this life; the hope of it renders death, and the transiency of this present life a perfect truth and reality; consequently, such a hope can only there strike root where men have begun to bid farewell to this life. But this was a requisition which the ancient Greek mind would not willingly submit to. For it was even nothing less than the very characteristic of classical antiquity to root itself in the present world, of which man is the centre and the climax, and in its thoughts and efforts not to look beyond the order and beauty perceptible in the earthly sphere (cf. Bernhardy's Grundlinien zur Encyclopädie S. 39, 40, 46, 47), and, consequently, death, with all its accompaniments, was kept at the greatest possible distance from ancient art, which, however, drew within its range whatever was human (see K. O. Muller Archæologie der Kunst. S. 603). We, therefore, certainly cannot see any cause for surprise if the quick and acute judgment of Paul's Athenian auditory felt at once, and recognized, the fatal and destructive force against the whole of the ancient view of things which was contained in the Apostle's doctrine of the Resurrection of the dead.

Ought it then to surprise us if, after all, the great speech of the Apostle, was only followed by so sad a result, that St Paul, without making any further attempt, retired from the midst of such an audience, and from this moment abandoned the city? He had exerted all his love and wisdom, and had publicly addressed the people of Athens in a frank and liberal speech; but they had at once discerned the true meaning of the Apostle, and had decided,

no less promptly than unanimously, against the requisition which St Paul had made upon them. The free public movement which, in such a contingency, was rendered possible by the circumstances of Athens, brought in the decision as rapidly and as unmistakeably as in the synagogues of the Jews, where the same freedom and publicity prevailed. The blame, however, of this result did not rest with the Apostle, but redounded upon the Athenians. Of this St Paul receives an assurance in the faith of a number of souls in Athens who join themselves to him, and the dearer this small number naturally was to him the greater cause had St Luke to mention two of them especially—a man and a woman—by name (ver. 34). These were naturally such as moved by the testimony of truth (which, as we see, everywhere attached itself to some pre-existing element), were disposed to place confidence in the Apostle, and so to adopt what he preached to them in all its fullness, which thereupon was made certain and ratified to them by the testimony of the Holy Spirit within their own spirits.

In Athens St Paul had appealed to Hellenic civilisation, but the civilisation of Greece would not receive him but repelled him from itself. This was a melancholy sign. By it it became manifest that Christianity could not and was not destined to attach itself to the purest and most spiritual results of Heathendom any more than to that which was presented as the most precious gain of Judaism. However, the mockery with which the Gospel was received on the Areopagus, did not decide and give the law for the whole Hellenic people, exactly in the same way that the rejection of Jesus and of the Apostles by the Sanhedrim, and on the mount of the temple, did determine the question for the whole people of the Jews. For Athens no longer represented the Hellenic nation; the centre of this people was no longer in Athens, but in Corinth, because the gravitating point of Grecian life in the times of the Gospel was not the self-consciousness of Hellenic civilisation and freedom, but the imperial might of Rome which determined and ruled everything. What there was still to be found in Athens was but dumb witnesses to its ancient glory; the living and speaking representatives of the Athenian character had become but gossipers and mockers; and on this account Athens was at this time no more the representative of the past of Greece than it was of its present fortunes.

And even on this account it would not be right to estimate by the scorn and contempt with which Athens drove St Paul from her, the original relation (which St Paul had in his mind) of Grecian culture to the Gospel. Because the Athenian enlightenment could point to something more than what was set forth by those Epicurean and Stoic philosophers with whom St Paul had in vain been occupied, St Luke has preserved this address of the Apostle, which had this civilisation in view, in order to promote, by means of this incomparable speech, a right estimate of it with regard to the general development of humanity. And as St Luke, with the Athenian speech of St Paul, addresses himself to others, so St Paul turns with his preaching of the Gospel to Corinth. This city was the residence of the Roman proconsul in Achaia; trade and luxury were there at their height; and along with them voluptuousness and immorality flourished without restraint (see Winer bibl. Realwortb. 1. 672, 673); in short the city presented a true picture of the Hellenic character and life, such as they were at this date.

St Paul confesses, at a later date (see 2 Cor. ii. 2, 3) that at the beginning of his first residence in Corinth he was a prey to much anxiety and fear. After the painful and agitating experience which he had just had in Athens, it could not well be otherwise. The ready susceptibility of the Gentiles had hitherto been his consolation amidst the hard-heartedness of Israel; now, however, he had just stood before those who were generally acknowledged to be the most highly gifted and the most excellent of all; but just as the Jews had answered with bitterness and hatred to his appeal to Moses and the prophets, so the Athenians had, with scorn and derision, rejected his reference to their poets and to their works of art, to their religious rites and to their history. When, in this way, a new depth of human depravity had been opened upon his view, he might well be anxious, and hesitate as to the point to which he should direct his observations while preaching the Gospel of Christ in the great capital of Achaia—the city so full of idolatry and fancied wisdom, so full of luxurious indulgence and of sin. How should he best win the poor and befooled people? His mind, too, was the more depressed, from the fact that he was, besides, quite alone; it was sometime afterwards that Silas and Timothy came to him from Macedonia (see xviii. 5). In the

sad feeling of loneliness which oppressed him, the comfort was afforded him of meeting, on his arrival in Corinth, with a Jewish married couple, with whom, before long, he enters into closer and more familiar relations (see xvii. 2). Aquila and Priscilla are the names of this Jew and his wife; they belonging by descent to Pontus, and, consequently, like St Paul, to Asia Minor. They had lately come from Italy, having, by an imperial edict of Claudius, been banished from Rome with the rest of their countrymen, and, consequently, had come to Corinth as strangers with the same gloomy feeling as St Paul. This resemblance in so many points naturally drew them together; and since, besides all else, they pursued the same occupation, they preserved this mutual connection. For the context it is a point not altogether without importance to know whether Aquila was or not already a believer. Commentators are pretty equally divided on the point; Neander leaves it undetermined. Meyer has come forward in favour of the negative solution, and, as appears to me, with irresistible arguments. It would, in fact, be impossible to explain why St Luke, when introducing to us for the first time, a Jew who yet believed in Christ, should, nevertheless, have described him simply as *Ἰουδαῖον*; moreover, the prominent way in which the natural attractions for their association are mentioned, acquires its due weight if there was no concurrent motive of a common faith to bring them and Paul together.

The only difficulty attaching to this viewis the fact that St Luke nowhere makes mention of the conversion of Aquila. But we need only to consider that St Luke universally directs his look to the greater events, and to the totality of the general course of the Church's development; and that, consequently, he, so far as he was concerned, might very easily have felt himself justified in leaving unnoticed the conversion of an individual. I think, also, that we can well understand St Paul thus seeking out, and estimating natural and personal circumstances in the hope of divining some tie or association to cling to at the time. With his love and his zeal for the nation of the Hellenes deeply wounded in the very quarter where he could least have expected it, he had just arrived at Corinth from Athens. After this profound depression of his spirits, which it had cost him to witness the countless indications

of idolatry, which filled every state and district, and after the deep wound which the aliens, the Gentiles, had given him, the face of a Jew must indeed have had a good effect on him, for he at least did not bow the knee to the gods of gold, or silver, or stone, and by so doing dishonour both God and man, and who, at any rate, was not one of those vain and conceited mockers and despisers. In such a state of mind, the Apostle would be well disposed to feel the full force of all the national considerations which must naturally have attracted himself and this couple of Jewish fugitives, and, I think, it must be laid to the account of this tone of mind that St Luke makes mention here of St Paul's manual occupation (ver. 3). St Paul carried on his trade of a tentmaker simultaneously with the labours of his Apostleship (see Winer bibl. Realwort. ii. 213, 275), in order to procure a maintenance by his own hands (cf. xx. 34; 1 Thess. ii. 9; iii. 8; 1 Cor. ix. 7, &c.; 1 Cor. iv. 12; 2 Cor. xi. 7). In the same way, that in the passage, 1 Cor. ix., he declares to the Corinthian Church his true opinion on this point; so, throughout, he stedfastly maintained the obligation of every Church to support its pastors and teachers. St Paul recognised the Divine standard on this subject in the legal ordinance of Israel. But, at the sametime, he declares it to be his own intention to make no use, in his own person, of the right justly belonging to him, and to make this to be his imperishable glory (see 1 Cor. ix. 15; 2 Cor. xi. 10). It is not difficult to understand the reason why St Paul came to ascribe such great importance to this mode of supplying his own wants during his labours in the Gospel among the heathen. It was the very condition of the Apostolical vocation, that the grace of God should be offered to the Gentiles freely, and that no requisition should be made upon them to adopt any given external ordinance, and to accommodate themselves to it. It was necessary that the grace of God should come to the Gentiles in the unalloyed form of the Spirit and of liberty. On this account, the Apostle is a man who was dead unto the law of his people (see Gal. ii. 19), and was called in the Spirit by the manifestation of the Lord himself to him. But now, although the obligation of the Churches to maintain their pastors and teachers rests upon the principle, that the Churches from among the Gentiles, would assume and

adjust themselves to a form after the type of the congregation of the people of the Old Testament, St Paul, of his own free will, nevertheless imposed it on himself as a duty, to forego, in his own person, this, his undoubted right, in order that the foundation of the kingdom of God and the Gentiles, which was bound up with and dependent on his own Apostolical operations, might, so far as he was concerned, preserve this perfectly unalloyed character of free grace and pure spirituality for all future ages. No doubt St Paul must have looked upon this renunciation of a right, which properly belonged to him, as forming part of that suffering, which, for the sake of the name of Christ, was to be laid upon him (see ix. 16). Since, then, the manual labour of the Apostle was an actual part of his Apostolical labours, St Luke has made mention of it in his history. The circumstance, however, that he here alludes to it for the first time, and not, as might have been expected, in his account of St Paul's stay at Thessalonica, where the Apostle, according to his own declaration, worked with his own hands day and night (see 1 Thess. ii. 9; 2 Thess. iii. 8) arises from the fact that the manual labour of the Apostle becomes an influential element on the arrival of St Paul in Corinth, inasmuch as it leads to the acquaintance of Paul and Aquila.

During the residence of St Paul in the house of this Jewish couple, and during the prosecution of his handicraft, he was again strengthened in his weakness. It was during his stay there that he commenced his evangelical labours in Corinth; and, as a resident in the house of Aquila, he went the more regularly to the synagogue (see ver. 4). In the earlier period, while on the working days, St Paul laboured with his own hands, and every Sabbath discoursed in the synagogue with the Jews and the God-fearing Greeks, no decision was yet come to; and St Paul had not as yet attained again to the height of his Apostolical zeal. When, however, by the arrival of Silas and Timothy from Macedonia he had received fresh encouragment, he was again seized with his former ardour of the Spirit. For, by the coming of his two companions and fellow-labourers, St Paul was not only relieved from the loneliness which he had found very hard to bear in the midst of heathens and unbelievers (cf. xvii. 16; 1 Thess. iii. 1; 2 Cor. vii. 6) but the comfort which he received from the report given him by Timothy of the faith of the Church

of Thessalonica endued him with a perfectly new life: *ἄρτι δὲ ἐλθόντος Τιμοθέου πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφ' ὑμῶν καὶ εὐαγγελισαμένου ἡμῖν τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην ὑμῶν καὶ ὅτι ἔχετε μνείαν ἡμῶν ἀγαθὴν πάντοτε ἐπιποθοῦντες ἡμᾶς ἰδεῖν καθάπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς, διὰ τοῦτο παρεκλήθημεν ἀδελφοὶ ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ θλίψει καὶ ἀνάγκῃ ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς ὑμῶν πίστεως, ὅτι νῦν ζῶμεν ἐὰν ὑμεῖς στήκητε ἐν κυρίῳ* (1 Thess. iii. 6—8). From this confession of the Apostle, which refers to the time spoken of in the fifth verse of our present chapter, we first clearly discern how profound was the grief which St Paul brought away with him from Athens. He appears as one dead; to the Jews, his brethren after the flesh, he had laid open his whole heart, but they had everywhere rejected him with hatred and with persecution; with all the earnestness of love he had entered into the idiosyncracies of the Greeks, and they had but made a mock of his self-renunciation and his wisdom which was of God. But more, not only had all his best endeavours been set at nought by Jews and Greeks; the grandest work of his God, and His glorious grace had been rendered vain by the wickedness of man. The more impressively and the more palpably the Almighty had shewn to the people of Israel His grace and His truth, the more embittered and the more malicious are the feelings and the heart of the people against the consummation of all God's truth and grace in Jesus Christ; the more gloriously the good God had distinguished the Athenians above all other people with the most precious gifts of nature, the more indulgently He had put up with the times of their ignorance, the greater was the levity and the more utter was the disregard of conscience with which they rejected the work of God which was intended to effect a glorious transfiguration of nature into grace and of the times of ignorance into holiness. Under such an oppressive burthen St Paul is, as it were, one dead. Is it enough to give him new life that he finds both a home and occupation in the house of Aquila? This can but prolong his existence; his full life, on the contrary, he did not again recover until he had heard from Timothy and Silas that the Churches of Macedonia were advancing by a glorious growth and were flourishing richly. This news was, as it were, a re-animating breath of the Spirit of God. For in it the assurance was given anew, and ratified in a way suitable to the existing state of the Apostles' mind, that the grace of God is even

mightier than all the malice of man, and was especially abundant and powerful enough to overcome all the resistance which the evil nature of the Greeks could make against it. The tidings, consequently, of the flourishing vigour of the Churches of Macedonia animated again the Apostle's deadened mouth of testimony, to commence anew in full vigour the work of preaching the Gospel in the principal city of Achaia.

The narrative of St Luke coincides most accurately with that declaration of the Apostle with regard to this period which we have already adduced. For evidently the fifth verse is intended to assert a highly important and decisive advance in the active labours of St Paul. Morus and Meyer, it is true, in the strangest manner possible, are not disposed to discover in *συνείχετο* this growing zeal, and see in it nothing but his commencing fears; because, as Meyer alleges, the fifth verse is intended as an antithesis to the fourth. As if there were no other antithesis to the calm and uniform work which is asserted in *διελέγετο κατὰ πὰν σάββατον* and in *ἔπειθε* of ver. 4, than that anxious solicitude; and as if that of a concentration of zeal were impossible; although, as Meyer himself admits, so far as the words are concerned—(for the reading *τῷ λόγῳ* is, without question, to be preferred to that of *τῷ πνεύματι*), it might at least be equally well expressed by *συνείχετο*;—as if (apart even from all that we know from the first Epistle to the Thessalonians), this antithesis were not set forth as the only one—to use a phrase of Meyer's—"pragmatically accounted for" (pragmatisch begrundete) by the mention of the arrival of the Apostle's two companions as well by the effect immediately operated. A certain advance in the intensity of the Apostle's preaching is also implied in the assertion which follows, that "he testified to the Jews that Jesus was Christ." His discourses and explanations therefore on the previous Sabbath days were rather of a general and an introductory nature; now at length St Paul came forward with that, which all his preparatory teaching had had for its end, and with a forcible testimony to the truth. And this coming forward in the synagogue with a decided doctrine had also a decided effect. Here, as in almost every other place, the issue is a gainsaying and a blaspheming of the testimony to Jesus Christ. By this issue, however, the Apostle had his way marked out clearly for him.

He shook his raiment as a testimony against them, that from thenceforth he would have no communion with them (cf. xiii. 51), and cried "Your blood be upon your own heads; henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles" (ver. 6). In these words, alluding to the blood of his hearers and his own innocence of it, the Apostle had evidently before his eye the picture of the prophet Ezekiel, where the prophet of Jehovah is represented as a watchman appointed to warn the transgressors of the coming judgment which is betokened by a sword; if the watchman neglects to give the warning, the transgressor will, it is true, be reached by the slaying sword, but his blood will be required of the watchman: if, on the contrary, the watchman diligently gives the due warning, but the transgressor still refuses to be enlightened, then the transgressor will perish by a bloody death, and his blood will be upon his own head (see Ezek. iii. 16—21; xxxiii. 7—9). As for the expression "your blood"—which naturally cannot signify the moral corruption of man as Meyer thinks; one must bear in mind that in Hebrew the blood is the blood which appears, consequently not that which flows in the veins, but that which is shed by violence, for the Hebrew word דָּם designates the blood from its colour. If, now, we take into consideration this prophetical picture, then the expression of "your blood" can only signify the bloody death of those on the spot accomplished by the sacred sword of God. As St Paul had not allowed himself to fail in the enjoined faithfulness in warning, he might justly pronounce himself free and pure from this bloody death, and boldly turn on their own heads this the awful end of their conduct, so that it should fall upon them with deadly power. For, in this place, the head is not, as Meyer asserts, a significant designation of the person, but, as is proved by numberless passages of Ezekiel (see Ezek. ix. 10: xi. 21; xvi. 43; xvii. 19; xxii. 31), which speak of the head as the aim of God's punishments, the head is put prominently forward because the punishment of the sword is a Divine one and evidently one that proceeded from Heaven to earth (cf. Rom. i. 18). It is not without significance that St Paul felt himself to be concerned with this representation of the Prophet Ezekiel. We see from it once more that he found it impossible to think of his vocation to the Gentiles apart from a most decided and most sacred sense of duty towards Israel. As Ezekiel had

received the call to announce to the distant Israelites of Chebar the judgment of God, in order to their penitence and deliverance, so St Paul feels himself to be the bearer of the threat uttered by St Peter in his first preaching on the day of Pentecost, of the end of things, to the Diaspora of the whole Roman empire, in order that the Jews afar off might have the opportunity of calling on the name of the Lord.

And in Corinth, also, this boldness of the Apostle in turning from the Jews and joyfully turning to the Gentiles, proved highly favourable for the furtherance of the Gospel. St Paul exchanges the synagogue for the house of a Godfearing Greek of the name of Justus—which, according to the context, we can only understand by supposing it to mean that he continued in this house the preaching of the Gospel, and indeed, in this place, unto the Gentiles. St Luke gives prominence to the circumstance that this house of Justus lay in the immediate neighbourhood of the synagogue. Evidently by this fact it is intended that we should be led to make the comparison : in the consecrated house of the synagogue there was circumcision, the sign of the covenant with Abraham—the law and the prophets, prayer to Jehovah, and the exercise of the statutes of Israel ; but bound up with all that the uncleanness of the unbelieving heart and the burthen of an evil conscience which had reduced all reading and praying to a mere dead service of the lips ;—on the other hand was the house of the Gentiles, in which, to the outward eye, nothing else was to be seen than what was of a heathenish and purely natural character, while, on the contrary, there was there the living testimony of the Word of God and the demonstration of the Spirit and of power in St Paul and his fellow labourers ; and a longing, hearty reception of the Divine testimony on the part of a great multitude of the heathen who gladly sought after redemption. In the former there was the semblance of a house of God, without the reality ; and here the reality of a house of God which was followed by the manifestation. By this inversion of the previous relation in which the Jew and the Gentile respectively stood to the kingdom of God—which inversion appeared to be represented by the co-existence of the two houses we have described, a highly remarkable conversion was effected. Crispus, the head of the synagogue, which St Paul had quitted (and whose members

he had given over to the consequences of their own sin), believed with all his house (ver. 8). Such a conversion—the conversion of an entire family—has never before been reported in the case of an Israelite. Was not this a beginning of that crisis which Moses had prospectively foretold for the future, when Israel should be provoked to jealousy by a people which were not a people and after a profound delusion should be converted to God? For was it not the force of attraction exercised by the house of the Gentiles filled with the Spirit of God that allowed not Crispus to remain any longer in the house of God which the Spirit of God had abandoned? and which worked so effectually with him that with his whole house he went after the Word of God into the house of the Gentile and become obedient to it? And since this bright example of the ruler of the synagogue, in joining the communion of the Gentile Christians, is followed by several of the Corinthians; by such results St Paul was strengthened anew still more mightily and more sensibly than by the news from Macedonia. In his own immediate neighbourhood and experience the boundless might of the grace of God has again been demonstrated to him, first of all on the Greeks, and then, also, on the Jews, and that too in a way full of hope and promise. As in 1 Cor. i. 14, among the few whom he himself had baptized, the person that he mentions first of all is Crispus, we have in this fact a sign that St Paul looked upon the conversion of Crispus and his family as a very remarkable and signal case. For of the two other names belonging to the Church of Corinth, which, in this passage, he instances together with that of Crispus, we know that they were distinguished above all others. Gaius was his host, and kept open house for the whole community (see Rom. xvi. 23), and Stephanas was the first-fruits of Achaia (see 1 Cor. xv. 15). Alongside of them Crispus, with his house, was the first-fruit and the representative of that Israel which one day being convinced by the presence of God among the Gentiles, were in a body to return to the God and Saviour of the Church of the Gentiles. On this reason St Paul could not abstain from administering baptism to this blessed first-fruit.

Looking at all we know of the previous operations of the Apostle in Asia Minor, as well as in Macedonia, we necessarily expect that, after having there laid the foundation of a Church in

Corinth, he would have proceeded further, either in order to press forwards with the Gospel or for a time to return and revisit the scenes of his former labours. But the conversion of Crispus had given him an intimation that the Gentile Church in this place was to be looked upon as no ordinary one. The Church in the house of Justus was the representative of the Gentile Church which was finally to receive into its hidden glory the neighbouring house—the synagogue; and this fact of the extraordinary importance of the Church in Corinth is further confirmed by the appearance of the Lord by a vision in the night to St Paul, who enjoined him not to hold his peace but to speak, and added the encouraging assurance that He had much people in that city (see vv. 9, 10). This nightly vision of the Lord in Corinth carries us back to the nocturnal manifestation of the Lord at Troas (see xvi. 9,10.) And here it becomes certain, that the man of Macedonia represented more than his own people. For the Word of the Lord evidently signifies that St Paul must not work here in Corinth merely in a passing way, but permanently; that he must look upon Corinth properly as a station of his operations. For there it is not a small band whom the Lord has chosen, but much people, whom, in virtue of their election to eternal life, He already designates as His (see xiii. 48). Here, therefore, that susceptibility which the man of Macedonia expressed, exists in its widest extent. And is not this quite in order? We believed that we ought to look upon the man of Macedonia as the representative of the whole of the European family of men in need of, and longing for, salvation. And where now do we find the men of Europe so perfectly represented and present in all the reality of their existing circumstances as in Corinth? On the whole, and in the main, the population of this great, wealthy, and busy city, is a fair specimen of the Greek people, such as it was at this date. The intellectuality and the levity of the Grecian character, so far as it still existed, found here its fullest expansion and development. In this respect, however, the city of Corinth differed from that of Athens, that it was the central seat of the Roman power in the principal province of Greece. Not merely the fact that, by this circumstance, they belonged more to the present, while Athens began to look almost like the mummy of the past; but also, in consequence thereof, that other element which, at this

date likewise modified the European character, viz., the imperial power of Rome, was represented in a striking and influential manner. Accordingly, we shall find it to be perfectly conceivable, if, in obedience to the instructions of his Lord, St Paul made here a longer halt on his journey, and tarried in Corinth eighteen months, to preach there the word of salvation.

St Luke has not considered it necessary to convey to us any account of the way and manner of the Apostle's operations during his long residence in Corinth. Whence arose this silence in our author, who has given so full and so circumstantial a report of the Apostle's sojourn in Athens, where, however, not so much as the founding of a Church was achieved by him? St Paul tells that he did not come to Corinth in any excellency of speech, or of wisdom, but with the determination to know nothing among them but Jesus Christ, and Him crucified (see 1 Cor. ii. 1, 2). Neander, with good reason, makes this confession to be connected with the inefficiency of his attempt in Athens to win the Greeks to the Gospel, by complying, as far as possible, with all their peculiarities, both of the past and the present; and Neander supposes that St Paul, after so bitter an experience of the fruits of Hellenic wisdom, had very naturally formed the resolution to preach the Crucified in Corinth with the greatest possible plainness and simplicity (see Geschichte der Pflanz. &c. i. 264, 265). It was also so ordered that the great number of people whom the Lord had chosen for Himself in Corinth consisted for the most part of insignificant and uneducated persons (see 1 Cor. i. 26—28), who, partly through the consciousness of their open and gross sins, were attracted by the preaching of the grace of God through Jesus Christ (1 Cor. vi. 9—11). Even on this account, therefore, that the preaching and labours of St Paul in Corinth possessed this plain and simple character, and that nothing extraordinary took place there which could claim consideration as bearing on the progress of the general development, St Luke passes thus rapidly and silently over this highly important period in which St Paul had put forth his best and strongest efforts and accomplished the most permanent results against the realm of darkness.

However, the historian has not omitted to lay before us a scene from the closing period of the Apostle's long residence in

Corinth, from which we discern plainly enough the high importance which this city exercised in the development of the early Church. How influential the Apostle's labours in Corinth were, we see from that most infallible standard of those times for the extent and power of the faith in Christ—from the hatred of the Jews. For the conversion of the ruler of the synagogue (as was only to be expected) had been without any influential effect on the rest of the Jewish community. A new ruler of the synagogue was elected, and the members of the synagogue persevered with such stedfastness in their rejection of the crucified Messiah, that the few Jews who embraced the faith in Jesus were comparatively of no consideration, and the Jews, as such, were opponents and enemies of the Apostles, just as everywhere it had been the case, so that *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι* in ver. 12, as well as in xiii. 50, xiv. 5, must, without further explanation, be understood in a hostile sense. Although, after his solemnly taking leave of the synagogue, St Paul does not seem to have troubled himself about the Jews, still their hostility to the work he was carrying on in Corinth seems to have been continually growing; because every heathen who renounced his idols, and walked in the strength of Jesus was a living testimony against their unbelief. Their hatred and malice left them no rest; and, whereas in other places they endeavoured to stir up an uproar among the people, they here tried what they could do with the Roman Proconsul. That they did not venture to practice upon the people in Corinth, had evidently (as will presently be proved plainly enough) its source in the fact, that the influence of the Apostle had struck too deep a root, and that the whole people were favourably disposed towards him. As the free exercise of their ancestral and hereditary religion was assured to the Jews by the Roman state, they thought that they could support the accusation against Paul if they represented him as one who taught men to worship God in a way unsanctioned by the law. They proposed, therefore, to make a tool of the Roman Proconsul in Corinth in their plans against St Paul, in the same way that their brethren in Jerusalem had of the Roman Procurator against Jesus. But on this occasion, it was shown, that the fault did not rest with the Romish polity, if the power of heathendom, on a former occasion was rendered subservient to the malice of the Jews, but that the

blame rested really with the personal character of Pilate. Gallio, the brother of Seneca, the philosopher, who enjoyed a good reputation among the Romans, and subsequently earned the renown of having, with several others of the nobles, fallen a sacrifice to the hatred of Nero (see the quotations in Wetstein ii. 575; Winer bibl. Realwört. i. 388. 389), was inaccessible to the machinations of the Jews, and left the law on this occasion to take its course. The Jews had already dragged the hated Paul before the tribunal of the Proconsul, and believed that on this spot their fury was quite sure of its prey. It soon appeared, however, that before the tribunal of the Roman Proconsul, there was no chance of St Paul being in any peril because of the Gospel, which was the only crime laid to his charge; but that he would, on the contrary, be protected from all danger. Gallio does not even deem it necessary to hear St Paul's defence; from the complaint of the Jews, it became clear to his mind that the question before him had nothing to do with any breach of the peace, but merely with religious tenets; he, therefore, at once declared that his office related only to questions of the former kind, but that it had nothing to do with the latter (vv. 14, 15). The first portion of this declaration of the Roman Proconsul possesses in this context not merely a negative signification, but also a positive sense, inasmuch as it placed the Apostle under the protection of the Roman law against any possible attempts to maltreat him on the score of the objection made against him. The Lord had promised St Paul that no one in Corinth should harm him; that the Gentiles had not even the will to do so; this ill-will, however, exists among the Jews, and it does also attain to an actual outbreak and attempt to wreak its vengeance. But it is owing to the power of the Roman law, which is here represented by the person of the Proconsul, that this attempt was not carried into effect. The protection, therefore, which the Lord promised and vouchsafed to this Apostle is brought about by means of the rights and ordinances of the Roman imperial constitution. What, therefore, St Paul had already experienced in the first European city, when he himself had put up a claim to protection from Roman justice, he also experiences here, where he had, in obedience to the instruction of the Lord, sojourned a longer time than usual,

in order to lay the foundation of a permanent work for the conversion of Europe; and that too without ever opening his mouth (see ver. 14). After this manifestation of the great importance of Roman law and justice for the founding and diffusion of the Gospel among the people of Greece, we can also comprehend why it was that St Luke opens this closing scene of the Apostle's residence in Corinth with the words *Γαλλίωνος δὲ ἀνθυπατεύοντος τῆς Ἀχαΐας*. This grave introduction, commencing with the name of the Roman official, was intended to intimate that this element of the constitution of imperial Rome is to be looked upon as of importance for the subsequent history.

And as at the close of the long course of St Paul's labours in Corinth, the Roman element in this city proved a protection of the Gospel against the passions of men, so the Hellenic population shews itself to be altogether for the Apostle, and, therefore, favourably disposed also towards his work. For after the Proconsul had dismissed the complaint of the malicious Jews, and driven them from his court, they seize the ruler of the synagogue, and beat him before the tribunal. That some commentators are disposed to understand by this Sosthenes, the person who had hitherto been assisting St Paul (see 1 Cor. i. 1), is an assumption which Meyer justly rejects as purely arbitrary. As the attempt of the Jews had been just before spoken of as being made with one accord, the ruler of the synagogue, who was present, is naturally to be regarded as the leader of the whole business. Moreover, it will be the most probable assumption, if we suppose this governor of the synagogue was the successor of the previously rejected and converted Crispus (ver. 8). And, now, if he is seized and beaten by the multitude, it must have been in an outbreak of their displeasure at the whole of the proceedings of the Jews against St Paul, in which the populace, with good reason, detected the working of malignity. The reading of *Ἰουδαῖοι* consequently rests on the error which sees a parallel passage in 1 Cor. i. 1, and, consequently, on a palpable misconstruction of the passage we are considering. The reading *ἕλληνες*, on the other hand, is an interpolation, based, indeed, on a correct interpretation of the passage, but, nevertheless, wholly unnecessary. Lastly, that attention is further called to the fact, that Gallio cared for none of these things, is intended clearly to intimate that

the Proconsul was so little disposed to favour the Jews, that, on the contrary, he was rather pleased with the chastisement thus administered to them for their evil designs against St Paul. This little trait, therefore, serves, finally, to throw out yet once more into a strong light the great importance which the constitution of imperial Rome exercised in furnishing the Apostle the protection which his Lord had promised him.

§ 28. APOLLOS, THE REPRESENTATIVE OF ST PAUL IN EUROPEAN GREECE.

(Chap. xviii. 18—28.)

The remarkable issue of the violent animosity of the Jews in Corinth, and of their persecution of St Paul, had this effect: St Paul was able to remain quietly in that city, and to go on with his work. Availing himself of this favourable turn of affairs, the Apostle abode still for some considerable period in this important station (*ἡμέρας ἱκανάς*, ver. 18). Whereas, hitherto St Paul had in every European station been disturbed in his labours, either by the hostility of the heathen, as in Philippi; or by their total insensibility, as in Athens; or, by the hatred and malice of the Jews, as in Thessalonica and Berea; here, in Corinth, for the first time, had so much good fortune attended his labours, that the persecutions which were directed against him were perfectly fruitless. For that the protection, which was vouchsafed to him in Corinth, was of far greater importance than all that occurred to him in Philippi, in virtue of his rights of Roman citizenship, is quite obvious. It was only after he had been personally maltreated, that his Roman privileges came there into consideration, and even, then, all that he gained by them was merely an honourable dismissal, but not a permission to remain any longer in the town; but in Corinth St Paul had no need so much as to open his mouth. The mouth of the Roman consul protects him against all perils, and the people are so favourable to him, as to maltreat his persecutors. And even in this respect it becomes apparent, both that Corinth, before all others, was the station to which the Apostle had been called and assigned by the man of Macedonia

in Troas; and, also, that the Lord who had called him over the sea, designed to place him specially in the sea-girt Corinth, in order to bring to Him the many people that He had there.

A great work had been accomplished by the hand of St Paul. For the first time in the history of the world had the word of the living God penetrated into the land of the isles, which, as well by the oldest records of mankind, as also by many prophecies, and also, lastly, by the recent historical events of the world, had been set forth as an important arena of the counsels of God, and of His saving plans. For the first time in the West had an enlightening ray pierced through the dark night of a heathenism, which counted a duration of more than a thousand years, and on its path it had left behind it a bright streak, while, at the extreme points of its course, it had founded two lighthouses, whose brilliant radiance threw far and wide, over land and sea, the light of Heaven. Justly may we feel surprised that St Luke, with such niggardness of words, and almost in silence, should hurry us over this highly important moment in the labours of St Paul, and especially over that summit-point which has been indicated. This, however, is the sublime objectivity of the composition of sacred history, that it places before the view of the reader the most majestic heights, and the most awful depths, without seeking to excite for one moment his feelings. Let us only realise to ourselves the representation of those most important and pregnant moments of the history of humanity—the history of the man (הָאָדָם), and the history of the Son of Man (*ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*). That this absence of reflexion had its source in unconsciousness, is an opinion that only can be entertained by one who overlooks the fact, that in the Sacred Scriptures all the moments which set forth the importance of the history both in generals and in particulars, attain to their due appreciation according to their true worth, and according to their order—a fact, which can only be explained by and derived from the one Spirit, which penetrates and discerns the importance and the meaning of each event. If, then, the narrative of the sacred history is fully conscious of the eternal import of its subject matter, we can only understand its silence on this point as having been induced by the assumption, that the everlasting import of the sacred history, both generally and specially, was sufficiently set forth in the facts

themselves, and that these facts had been communicated by both in sufficient completeness, and in consistent order. And thereby this historical narrative makes this demand on its reader, that he should be ready to give due attention to all its facts, even the very least, inasmuch, as not even one is without its significance and important bearing on the whole; and as it might very well happen that a fact, wholly unpromising in itself, might yet, when considered in its due relation, acquire an extraordinary importance in the whole system. In the present case we here find ourselves at the close of the report of the first series of St Paul's labours in European Greece. We have at various points been sensible of the clear consciousness with which the sacred narrative introduces us upon this great arena of the kingdom of God. And, now, it altogether looks as if it wished to lead us out of it again without the slightest intimation, without the slightest inkling of the high importance of this moment. When, however, we apply here that degree of attention which that peculiarity of the Sacred Scripture, which we have alluded to, demands of us, this semblance immediately disappears, and our narrative remains faithful to its true character in the present passage also.

When we are told that St Paul, after remaining for some considerable time at Corinth, bade farewell to his brethren, and took ship for Syria, what is asserted in all this is immediately no doubt the discontinuance of his labours in Corinth, and consequently in Greece also; but at the same time we have contained therein a very intelligible intimation of the importance of the Church founded by him in Corinth, and also of the work which was thus commenced by him in Greece. For inasmuch as (what we have already indicated) there was no outward motive for St Paul breaking off his labours in Corinth, we must, according to the context, assume that he felt conscious of having performed the work, which the Lord had set him, of gathering together the much people that He had belonging to Him in Corinth. Such a leave-taking, as had previously made and prepared all necessary arrangements before hand, is also intimated in the words, τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀποταξάμενος (see Mark vi. 46; Luke ix. 61; 2 Cor. ii. 13). Moreover, if St Paul now leaves not only Corinth, but also Greece, and turns again and in an opposite direction towards the sea, as he formerly had done in Troas; this

is a sign that he is conscious not merely of having discharged the commission with regard to Corinth, which he had received from the Lord, but also that he had performed the instructions contained in the words of the man of Macedonia. As taking ship suggests to our minds the idea of return, it cannot be doubted that Syria here spoken of is the land in which Antioch lay—the starting-point of all the missions to the Gentiles, at the close of which, the Apostle feels that he has for the present arrived. Thus Corinth assumes the same position relatively to his second, as Derbe did to the first of his missionary journeys. From Derbe, in the same manner, the Apostle took his departure without any external constraining necessity, and the foundation of that of the fourth Church formed the conclusion of his first mission, exactly in the same way that the founding of the fourth Church in Europe, and the gathering into it the elect people of God in Corinth, terminates the labours of the second. But just as the second journey in which, from the very beginning, the Apostle acted perfectly independently, and was placed on his own proper province, far transcends the first in importance, in which, however, his Apostolical vocation first began to attain to its realisation, so also the Church of Corinth is of far greater importance than that of Derbe; as, indeed, the newly founded Churches in Europe do not stand in need of any special strengthening and organisation before the Apostle leaves them for a considerable period, which, however, we have seen to have been necessary in the case of those of Asia.

According to the previous remarks, we are assuredly not merely justified, but even bound in duty, to draw out from the context of our general narrative these inferences with regard to the importance of the crisis here depicted. And still more is it incumbent on us, in this respect, to bring under consideration a trait communicated to us by St Luke, which, in itself is apparently insignificant, and very likely to be overlooked. I allude to the words *κειράμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς, εἶχε γὰρ εὐχήν*. It is true that these words have attracted the attention of commentators both in ancient and in modern times; they have been the subject of much discussion, but they have been invariably regarded as a mere incidental notice; and as such naturally they were not likely to contribute any elucidation of the general

tenor of the narrative. The want of unanimity and the manifest uncertainty which, down to the latest days, have been distinctly traceable in the discussions upon these words, may, perhaps, create a more lively attention to an attempt to point out the connection between this passage, and by that means to lead to a surer interpretation of them, as well as also to acquire a further insight into the course of our history.

One simple fact will be sufficient to show how ill it has hitherto fared with any attempt to elucidate these words. And that is, the circumstance that many modern commentators have had recourse to the expedient of the Vulgate, and also of several ancient expositors, and refer these words to Aquila. Meyer, it is true, believes that he has even found a decisive argument for so referring it; since, by this means alone, he says the arrangement of the names Priscilla and Aquila can be explained. But that Meyer has greatly erred herein, has been shown by Neander (Geschichte d. Pflanzung und Leitung i.277) and by Zeller (see Theolog. Jahrb. 1829. 584) who remark that the same order in which Priscilla is placed before Aquila is also observed by St Paul (see Rom. xvi. 3; 2 Tim. iv. 14), and we will add thereto that our narrative also, a little further on (viz., in ver. 26), according to the best authorities, exhibits the same arrangement, where, moreover, we shall have occasion to understand the reason of this inversion of the more natural order. But even if there did exist any reason to justify the connecting κειράμενος with Ἀκύλας, there would still be grave cause for hesitating whether we should be right in regarding it as adequate. For, in fact, it is impossible to see how the narrative could ever come to impart to us such a notice concerning Aquila. Could it possibly be to show that St Paul did not teach any revolt from the law, as Schneckenburger is of opinion (see Zweck der Apostelgeschichte S. 66)? But no one will ever be induced to adopt this hypothesis who does not also share with Schneckenburger the view of the so-called conciliatory tendency of the Acts. Or, is this notice intended, as Wieseler has conjectured, to explain the motives which delayed so long the Apostle's departure from Cenchrea? (see Chronol. des. Apostol. Zeitalters S. 203). But our narrative neither tells us that the departure of St Paul was protracted, nor that it was put off in consequence of Aquila's having

shaven his head. In fact, these very unsuccessful endeavours to justify the reference of these words to Aquila only demonstrate the impracticability of the attempt. For how could St Luke ever have come to insert so abrupt a notice of Aquila in his pregnant narrative of the development of the Church? Why, in the world, should not the participle, with the preposition which follows, be referred to the subject, which in the whole of this portion of the history forms the central interest of the narrative, and which also has been just before alluded to? There cannot well be a question that this point would never have been doubted had it not been thought that the former combination involved a greater difficulty than the latter. In the one, for instance, people thought they detected something wrong in the conduct of St Paul. Whereas, in the latter, nothing more was involved than at most an imperfection in the style of St Luke; and, according to the usual, but very untenable estimate, the latter fault was looked upon as lighter and more allowable to assume than the former. In this way, both in ancient and modern times has this untenable exposition been arrived at.

This hesitation, however, of commentators to admit the connection, which is evidently the simplest and most natural, is calculated only to sharpen the more our attention, and will lead us to discover the more readily what it is properly that is here said of St Paul. If the words *κειράμενος τὴν κεφαλήν* stood alone, we should have been led to recognise a token in them of deep sorrow. For among all nations, with the exception of the Egyptians, the shaving of the head was a sign of mourning (see Bahr. Symbolik d. Mosaisch Cultus ii. 437), and that it was also looked upon in this light by the Israelites is proved by the following passages; Deut. xxi. 12, 13; Isai. xxii. 12; Jer. vii. 29; Micah i. 16. Now, some critics, as Pettit, (see Wolf curæ. p. 1280) have actually attempted to take *κειράμενος* by itself; in that case the clause *εἶχεν γὰρ εὐχήν* must naturally be referred back to the *ἐξέπλει εἰς τὴν Συρίαν.* But it is in this very combination that this exposition fails; for what connection is there between the departure for Syria and the vow? If, as is evidently assumed in this hypothesis, it was in the temple that St Paul must be discharged of his vow; in that case, instead of Syria, Jerusalem, or

at any rate Judæa, ought to have been given out as the object of his departure. Moreover, in that case, we should still have to discover some reason and cause for that sign of sorrow, and that would be a very great difficulty—for a time when everything seemed to be tending to joy rather than to sorrow. We therefore merely insist that no further notice of the departure is given, but it is left to be explained by the context; while, on the other hand, a particular reason is given for St Paul shaving his hair, in order that we might not (what we should in any case be able to discover in the context) be driven to adopt the motive, implied in the general custom of shaving the head, and so to discern here the sign of a solemn grief. Now the existence of a vow is alleged as this special reason for it. This combination, then, is decisive as to the meaning of this shaving the head. The term εὐχή was indeed of a very wide signification in the mind and practice of the Israelites. It had, however, a special and paramount reference also; namely, to the vow of the Nazarite, of which, as results from a comparison of Numbers vi., it was properly the usual designation. If, then, in the case of an Israelite, εὐχὴ is spoken of as the cause of his shaving his head, ought one to feel doubtful, even for a moment, that anything else can be meant than the vow of the Nazarite? Against this combination, which offers itself so naturally, and as I think, so irresistibly, it is urged, no doubt, very confidently, that according to the law, a Nazarite could not be discharged of his vow elsewhere than in the temple, nor without the intervention of a priest, nor without a sacrifice. And this objection would be well grounded, if the point which we are here concerned with, was the wish and the duty of St Paul to exhibit to the Jews his compliance with the law. By the comparison and one-sided adduction here of the passage xxi. 22—26, the critics have generally proceeded on this assumption; and thereon rests a great part of the offence which has been taken, especially in modern times, at this statement concerning St Paul. But how very different is that passage from the one now before us! There St Paul was in Jerusalem, surrounded by Jews who believed in Jesus, but viewed the Apostle with suspicion; here he was in Corinth, commissioned pre-eminently to the Gentiles who formed the core and determined the character of the population, whereas from the Jews who were settled there, St Paul had separated, fully

and solemnly, soon after his arrival at Corinth. There, in Jerusalem, St James had advised him to comply with the Jewish practices; here, on the contrary, St Paul was placed all alone; and in the matter which is here reported, he acted, no doubt, on his own sole suggestion. If, therefore, there exists no reason in the present passage, then, most assuredly, none can be drawn from that other totally dissimilar passage, which should lead us to conclude that St Paul was acting here out of a regard to the Jews, and on that account would be obliged to proceed in the matter of his vow with a strict observance of law and custom.

When we understand the vow in this sense, all the scruples which are usually felt on all occasions of supposed accommodations on St Paul's part to Jewish opinions immediately vanish; but another difficulty seems to press itself on us only the more forcibly; "how," that is to say, "the liberal-minded Paul should ever have come of his own accord, and without the existence of any strong motive, voluntarily to mix himself up with the sensuous ceremonies connected with vows among the Jews," (see Meyer and Zeller ibid). But what if St Paul formed his own idea of the vow of the Nazarite, and divested it of all that which had been discharged, even by the fulfilling of the priesthood and the sanctuary; must the Nazarite's vow, in such a shape, be considered as perfectly, and under all circumstances, inconsistent with St Paul's position? This reduction of the ordinances of the Old Testament, apart from every other consideration, we have, while following the course of our history, already met with, in Antioch, where we found a sacred service without a Levitical priesthood, and a fasting Church, without reference to the tenth of the month Tisri. According to these analogies, the idea of a Nazarite's vow, without a priest, and without a bloody sacrifice, is possible. It does seem, indeed, as if some people could form no other idea of the liberty of St Paul, than as a compulsory obligation to do and suffer every thing, sooner than allow of any thing being seen in him, or heard of him, which could remind us of his nation or of his descent. It is, however, certain, that by liberty St Paul absolutely did not understand any compulsion whatsoever; and, least of all, such compulsion as would force him to deny his own nationality, which, as we have seen, was regarded by him as an inestimable blessing of his God.

Because, then, St Paul had formerly looked for justification in legal forms and observances, must he not be allowed now, when he has found the righteousness in Christ, to enjoy the liberty of venturing to exhibit his own inmost life in a way conformable with those forms originally appointed by God, and consecrated by a glorious past? We know, however, of Luther, that harshly as he invariably judged of and condemned his previous legal practices and mortifications, nevertheless, in the time of his liberty, when the occasion was given him, he again subjected himself to the rigorous mode of life. And, in fact, it will assuredly turn on the simple point, whether we are able or not to point out a suitable occasion for the case before us, and such as will enable us to consider the Apostle's compliance with such a form as that of the Nazarite's vow to be perfectly inoffensive and quite intelligible. But, to be able to do this, we must, first of all, clearly establish what properly constituted the vow of the Nazarite; in order that we may know what state of mind we are to ascribe to St Paul as alone consistent with such an expression. Of the two signs of the Nazarite—abstinence from all that grows of the vine-stock, and from every kind of intoxicating drink—and letting the hair to grow, the former is easy to be understood. For inasmuch as the same abstinence was enjoined on the priests whenever they had to enter into the sacred tabernacle, that they might put a difference between holy and unholy, and that they might teach the children of Israel the statutes of Jehovah, in order that they might not fall into the sin of Nadab and Abihu (see Levit. x. 9, 10, cf. v. 1—7); it becomes clear that the permanent element in the self-denial of the Nazarite is such as should ensure the moderation which would, on the one hand, preserve man from corruption by worldly lusts, and on the other, qualify him for communion with God (see 1 Peter i. 13, iv. 7, v. 8; 2 Tim. iv. 5). This alone is ample ground for the description of the Nazarite which Vitringa gives us (see Obss. Sacræ ii. p. 553), per Naziræos olim Deus adumbrare instituit perfectam et omnibus numeris absolutam sanctitatem, quæ infert summam libertatem ab omni concupiscentia et servitute qualiscunque vitii atque peccati, animumque Deo in omni habitu, actu et statu devotum et consecratum." This notion of separation from the impurity and the unholiness of the world, in order to enter into

communion with God, is also clearly imprinted in the legal designation of the Nazarite נָזִיר (see Bahr. Symbol. d. Mosaischen Cultus. ii. 436).

With all this, however, it is not clear what was meant to be typified by allowing the hair to grow freely; and yet this is a point so essential that the unrestrained growth of the hair of the head preserves a designation which expresses the entire condition of the Nazarite (namely נֵזֶר, Numbers vi. 7). Accordingly, it is in this characteristic that the whole of the essential nature of the Nazarite must attain to its manifestation, just as the essence of the High Priest's character was manifested in the mitre (see Exod. xxix. 6, cf. xxviii. 36—38). Bahr has been at much trouble to prove that the growth of the hair was designed to be looked upon as the sign of a blessed, and, as it were, flourishing life (see ibid. S. 432, 433). For my part I cannot adopt this interpretation, for, on the one hand, it rests essentially on foreign and generally oriental modes of view, which are forcibly brought into consideration—an error which Bahr himself justly warns us against in other instances. For the allusions to Israelitish thoughts and feelings, which, it is contended, are contained in the terminology of צִיץ and צִיצָה, and their designation of the vine stock in the year of jubilee, are at any rate extremely uncertain. And, secondly, according to this view, the long hair of the head—considered in and by itself—would possess no demonstrable relation at all to the renunciation and abstinence, which, however, formed the principal characteristic of the נָזִיר, and to which also the נֵזֶר must evidently allude. Now if, with the Israelitish consciousness, we should be able to point out a clear distinction between the hair allowed to grow freely and that subject to the pruning of the scissors—and that too, of such a kind that, according to this distinction, the freely growing hair will stand in clear and obvious connection with the self-renunciation of the Nazarite, ought we not to allow ourselves to be guided by this trace? Ought we not here, in the passage before us, the more willingly to follow this trace, when we find that it is even the Apostle Paul himself who has brought to us a knowledge of the ideas and feelings with which the long hair of the head was regarded by the Israelites? I mean, for instance, that, in 1 Cor. xi. 3—16, this infallible guide is given us for establishing the true signification of the Nazarite's

hair being allowed to grow freely and without restraint. For, in this passage, the Apostle unfolds the thought, that the long hair of the women conveys an unmistakeable allusion to her need of protection, and, consequently, to her subjection to the power of the man; but that the shaven hair of the man, on the other hand, is a natural token of his free, independent position and freedom from subjection. After this elucidation, which St Paul delivers to that very Church, within which he had himself continued to allow his hair to grow, how can we doubt that he regarded the growth of his hair, which he cut off in Cenchrea, in such a light that it served him as a representation of the state of subjection and dependence? And so, too, we cannot question the fact that, in these Apostolical instructions, we have to recognize an authentic declaration of the Holy Spirit as to the original purpose of the law in its regulations concerning the hair of the Nazarite. According to it, the growth of the hair pourtrays that relation of man to God which corresponds to the abstinence from wine, and to the relation of the world to man. For, as wine was made for man to gladden his heart (see Ps. civ. 15), so was man placed free in the world to exercise dominion over all. But because man inverted his relation to the world, as well as his relation to God, the possibility existed that in order to bring his present relation in both its aspects to a corresponding manifestation, he would be ready to make a renunciation in both respects of what belonged to him according to his original position; that as he foregoes his plenitude of power over the noblest and richest of the fruits of the earth (see Judg. ix. 13; Eccles. x. 19) so also he lays his dignity as man at the feet of God. And was not this fact, so far at least as regards the modification of the relation between man and God, brought clearly before our minds in the very first declaration that the Almighty made after the fall of man? It was not the man, but the woman, who received the promise, and He who was to fulfil the destiny of man, who should exercise, in the fullest degree, the dominion of man over the beasts of the earth, is no longer described as the man of whom is the woman, but the man who is by the woman—the seed of the woman. And what else than this can it be that St Paul means, in the passage where, speaking of the human hair, he says: *ὥσπερ ἡ γυνὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, οὕτω*

καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ διὰ τῆς γυναικός (see 1 Cor. xi. 12)? When, in the first exercise of his freedom, man had employed his power of will and his faculty of action against God, then nothing but the consequences of his first deed, nothing, consequently, but sin and death, were to be looked for in the track of his original destination as long as he sought to maintain his supremacy. And the only possibility of salvation which was still left for him must depend on his restraining the exercise of his active faculty—the predominant portion of his nature, and allowing full scope to the more subordinate portion—the receptive faculty—which in the woman is supreme. And in whose history is this position of man relatively to salvation made manifest in so high a degree as in that of St Paul himself? Where had the will in its opposition to God developed itself in so eminent a shape as in the life of Saul of Tarsus the Pharisee, and the persecutor of the Christians? And when was this God-resisting power of the will so completely annihilated as in the days of the conversion of St Paul? And where, lastly, has the inversion of the original relation been exhibited in so pure a shape, and with such widely influential consequences, as in the ministry of the Apostle Paul? And is not the Pauline doctrine the true expression of this experience, and consequently, also, an accurately corresponding conception of this very fundamental relation? As the ἔργα are nothing else than the production of man's original faculty under the influence of a perverted tendency, therefore they are laid under the ban of sin and death; but faith, as the receptive faculty, is the sole and only salvation of man. Can we then feel any surprise if this holy Apostolical man, whose life and doctrine were the realisation of all that was involved in the character of the Nazarites of the Old Testament, should have sought to exhibit what he realised, in such a way as to bring home immediately to his own mind, and to that of others, the connection which subsisted between his life, and that most significant institution of Israel?

In the history of the Old Testament, we meet with a narrative and a character which is well-fitted to guide us still further along this path. In no instance has the character of the Nazarite entered so fully into history, as in the life and deeds of Samson. He is the Nazarite above all others. He, by the Divine appointment, is the Nazarite unto God from his mother's womb unto the

day of his death (see Judges xiii. 7). The excesses of Samson, which more than once occasion an involuntary transgression of his vow, are so little calculated to disturb, or even to prevent, our understanding his character in this light, that they only prove that the Divine idea of a perfect Nazarite failed of realisation in this person, though not, indeed, in such wise as to cause it to be abandoned, but rather to leave it to be realised in the future. Among those, therefore, who take a Scriptural view of the relation between the Old and the New Testament, there will be no doubt that the history and person of Samson are to be understood as a type; and, also, it can scarcely admit of a question that this type found its actual fulfilment in the sacred person and history of Jesus Christ. This fact, however, does not prevent the possibility, that one aspect of this type should receive its historical realisation in the Apostolical labours of St Paul; just as the typical relation, which is far more widely acknowledged, between Christ and Jonah presents an aspect, which, before long, will open out upon us more clearly than as yet it has, receives its undoubted consummation in the Apostolical office of St Paul. With good reason has Vitringa called attention to the fact, that the love of Samson for the Philistine woman, which, by the Scripture itself, is designated as one of the secret things which belong unto Jehovah (see Judg. xiv. 4), is an allusion to the ultimate union of Israel with the Gentiles—which in the history of the Old Testament appears very often prefigured and exhibited in this manner (see Obss. Sacr. ii. 554, 557). Now, this ultimate union of the Jews and the Gentiles has, indeed, its foundation in Jesus; but still its realisation is first brought about through the labours of St Paul, who in this work, serves the Lord as the chosen minister of His grace. It is, moreover, a well-known fact, that St Paul represents the relation between Christ and His Church, by the very same figure as it is typified by in the history of Samson; and it is also on this basis that an expression of the Apostle rests, in which he describes his own relation to the Church of Achaia precisely in the very way which, consistently with the assumption we have made, it must be thought of. If, for instance, he writes: *ἡρμοσάμην ὑμᾶς ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ πάρθενον ἁγνὴν τῷ Χριστῷ* (see 2 Cor. xi. 2), he even describes his Apostolical labours as a co-operation in bringing about the marriage between Christ and His Church

among the Gentiles. It surely needs only to be mentioned that the reference we have made of the history of Samson to the person of the Apostle, has nothing in common with the forced attempts of Vitringa, to apply to the Apostle Paul one special feature of this history detached from the rest (see ibid. p. 556, 558—582). If, then, as this passage clearly indicates, it was in this form that the Apostle conceived of his relation to that very Church, of which the Corinthian community formed the centre; how naturally must the suggestion have come into his mind, to exhibit, by an outward manifestation, the Divine element which was embodied in Samson—by an abstinence from wine, and the free growth of the hair.

Undoubtedly, it must not for a moment be denied, that with all these elucidations we have not got beyond a mere possibility, that the Apostle may have taken on him the vow of a Nazarite. However, the idea of the matter we must always entertain is, that if St Paul did attempt to realise these references of the Old Testament to his own person and history, it was in their intrinsic and spiritual sense, just as Jesus was a Nazarite, without abstaining from wine or the scissors. Accordingly, with this state of the case, there still remains the necessity of our showing what motive he could have had, under the given circumstances, for taking upon him such a vow; and it is even the more indispensable for us to enter upon this demonstration, the more unlimited, both in time and place, is the connection with the condition of a Nazarite, which we have just established in the case of St Paul, having shewn that it is one which remains unchangeable in all times and places, whereas we are here concerned only with a temporary vow, whose termination is all that is reported. And, in fact, this slight but highly significant hint which St Luke here throws out, will occasion us once more to take a survey of the whole of that section of the work, at whose close the narrative has already placed us, in order that, previously to our proceeding any further, its heights and its depths may be brought clearly before our view.

When, in addition to the information conveyed to us in our history, containing this last portion of the labours of St Paul, we take into consideration the Epistles likewise to the Church in Thessalonica, which ancient writers were unanimously agreed in

assigning to this same period (see Wieseler Chronolog. des apostol. Zeitalters. S. 251, 252), and the Epistles to the Church at Corinth, which reflect a bright light on the circumstances of St Paul's first visit to Corinth; such a picture of the Apostle's position will shape itself before our mind's eye, that we shall perforce recognise its exact counterpart in that brief description, which St Luke has sketched for us, of the last moments of St Paul, in the harbour of Corinth.

The first impression which St Paul derived from his labours in Europe corresponded with the Divine invitation which he had received in Troas. In the Græco-Roman city of Philippi, there was shown a pure and decided aptness to receive the seeds of the Divine word; a church was formed there which awakened the fairest hopes of its stability and permanence, to a degree that no Church had ever before given rise to. This pure joy, it is true, was mixed, with the observation and experience of a hostility to God which, along with this aptitude, was deeply rooted in the very nature of heathenism. However, even this bitter experience of hostility on the part of the heathens generally, and of the Romans in particular, was not without the admixture of a peculiarly sweet refreshing. For the conversion of the jailor, with his whole house, and the triumph of Roman privileges over the passions of the multitude, were the issues of even this sad night of suffering. Far more bitter was the cup of sorrow which the Apostle had to drink in Thessalonica. Even here, it is true, there was no lack of most glorious experiences of the heathen susceptibility; here, too, a Church was formed, whose faith was soon famous in every quarter of the Christian world (see 1 Thess. i. 8); and St Paul recognizes in this Church the true propagation of the Church of God in Judea; from which circumstances we distinctly perceive that here, and not in Asia, did St Paul discern the dawn of the new future of the Church (see 1 Thess. ii. 14). Moreover, the sufferings of persecution in Thessalonica did not really come upon the persons of the Apostle and his companions as it had done in Philippi, but the suffering of soul which he had to bear was only the more bitter. The Jews, viz., for whose instruction and conversion St Paul had expressly laboured for three weeks, did not merely remain, almost without exception, unbelievers; but they even

attempted to stir up the heathen populace as well as the magistrates of the city against the preachers of the Gospel, so as once again to betray their Lord and Messiah into the hands of the Gentiles. With good reason does St Paul see in this violent animosity, and in this shameful treachery of the Jews, the repetition of that dreadful act of impiety which had been committed in Jerusalem (see 1 Thess. ii. 15). And as this impious deed, which nationally was gradually prepared, and whose development the Apostle could not elude, awakened his recollections of the past, so must he also have seen in it a very alarming foretokening of the future. By the fact that the infidelity of Israel, in the guise of a pious zeal, formed a league with the injustice of the heathen power, the greatest atrocity on earth was perpetrated. Now, will not the second consummation of sin, which is directed against the Church of Christ, assume exactly the same form and shape? The prospect was opened by the Prophet Daniel, that in the days of the last Prince of the world, an essential feature of its hostility would be, that he should make a covenant with the revolters from the Holy God (see Dan. ix. 27. cf. Hofmann die 70 Jahre des Jeremias und die 70 Jahr-wochen des Daniel. S. 76, 77). So it had been shown in the history of Antiochus Epiphanes (see 1. Mac. i. 53, 54) and the same fact had also attained to a manifestation in Herod's hatred and persecution of the Apostles. For in that hostility we traced the union of the secular power of Rome with the appearance of Jewish legality and piety. That, notwithstanding the favourable disposition of the Gentiles, the hostility of the heathen secular power was not extinguished, St Paul had lately experienced in Philippi. If, then, the Jews deny Jesus, and in malicious and diabolical cunning, pretend to the Roman authorities that Jesus—their Lord and Christ—is an Anti-Caesar, that very form of malice is thereby introduced in which it was foretold that force would unite itself with the most exquisite cunning and hypocrisy. From the epistle of the Apostle to the Thessalonians, we see that he had given this Church very minute instructions with regard to the last times, and especially with regard to the final development of iniquity. We have consequently to convert the conjecture of Olshausen; instead of assuming that the treacherous thoughts of the Jews towards Jesus and His people (which need

no other explanation than their own malice and obduracy) were occasioned by St Paul's declarations concerning the last times, we should rather say that it was through this new manifestation of Jewish malice wherein he distinctly recognized the filling up of their measure (see 1 Thess. ii. 16), that St Paul was so profoundly moved as to be carried in thought to the dawning of the last times. Since the Apostle, in his epistle to the Thessalonians, when touching upon these illustrations of the last days, refers them to his oral instructions on the subject (2 Thess. ii. 5, 6), we must consequently assume that he had not merely spoken generally of the coming of the Lord, and his taking vengeance on the sinner (see 2 Thess. i. 7, 8; 1 Thess. v. 2), and of the wrath to come (see 1 Thess. i. 10); but that essentially he had already communicated to them the same reasons as he subsequently worked out, and more precisely defined in his epistles.

Now we do actually find that the description of the consummation of evil, which St Paul refers to in the second of these epistles, does reflect the impression which the events in Thessalonica necessarily made upon the Apostle. Since the exposition of this passage concerning the last times has been led back into the right track from the devious courses, into which the groping in the dark of recent times had misled it, we are the better able to furnish a demonstration of this assertion. For people have come back again to the acknowledgment that St Paul, in his description of the Man of Sin, has accurately followed the indications of it given in the Old Testament, and especially in the Prophecies of Daniel (see Lünemann. Briefe an die Thessalonich. S. 217 Wieseler. chronolog. der Apostol Zeitalters S. 269). If now we follow this sure path, simply and without allowing ourselves to be led out of it by collateral matters, we shall soon be convinced that St Paul could not look for the Man of Sin anywhere else than within the limits of the secular power. For it is to the empires of the world that all the visions and Prophecies of Daniel refer; and in his foreannouncement of the events of the kingdom of the world we are arrested before that very passage (xi. 36, 37), which St Paul had evidently in his mind while he wrote 2 Thess. ii. 4. Consequently we must call it an abandonment of this right track, if Wieseler maintains; "that St Paul does not look for the adversary of the Divine will within the realm of politics; but, it is quite clear, he looks

for him within the domain of religion as a false prophet" (see ibid S. 269). For why may not the character of the false prophet be united with the possession of secular power, so that that power which, of itself, exercises a seductive influence on mankind, being thus strengthened by a delusive semblance of a Divine character, should fill up the measure of all seductive arts, precisely in the way that we see it distinctly enough exhibited in the Apocalypse? And just as little can the mention of ἀποστασία in Thess. ii. 3, bring us to another idea; for undoubtedly ἀποστασία is not, as Wieseler says, a political revolt (see ibid S. 257), but as Lünemann justly remarks, this apostacy is to be thought of as preceding the appearance of the adversary (see S. 191). Now, according to all this, no Israelite who was really acquainted with the past and present of the history of his nation could have to ask where this imperial power and its representative was to be looked for in the first times of Christianity. To the mind and conscience of an Israelite the secular power could be none other than the Roman, and the exponent of it no other than the emperor. Consequently the sphere and the person in which the mystery of iniquity might be consummated is ever at hand. However, in order that this possibility should become a reality, there was needed for this end an union of the lying powers with the sword of supreme authority, and these lying powers are nowhere more operative than in those cases where the profoundest malice has put on the guise of the holiest semblance. But in this procedure it is indispensable that they must take a part who have been entrusted with the care of the sanctuary. But as is easily discernible, such persons must, first of all, inwardly have apostatized from their sacred destination before they could make use of what was sacred for a cloak of wickedness. Since then, in the whole history of the world, no people had been brought into such close intimacy with the sanctuary as the Israelites had; consequently the development of this last and highest form of wickedness depended primarily on Israel. In his frightful falling away from this Divine destination, Israel had leagued himself with the secular power of Rome against Jesus, and in that way had lent to the foulest atrocity, that the world ever witnessed, the semblance of legality and of zeal for God. This unrighteousness and iniquity, however, were the means which were designed to minister to the sealing up of

all unrighteousness and wickedness; and, therefore, every other consequence of this atrocity immediately retires into the back ground, in order to allow the Divine purpose of grace in the forgiveness of the sins of the world by the blood-shedding of the Son of God to be exhibited in its fullest measure and without disguise. But in the persecution of the Apostles by Herod, the same combination of injustice with falsehood was again manifested. Herod, however, was only a vassal of the Roman emperor. Afterwards, in Thessalonica, the malice of the Jews was raised to such a pitch, that, after hearing St Paul preach Jesus Christ to them for three weeks, they abuse the knowledge they thereby gained of the mystery of the implicit obedience of the faithful to the rules of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, in order to betray them to the heathen authorities, and by that means to excite the indignation of the latter against the former as rebels against the laws of the Roman empire. But it was impossible for them to have given this impulse to heathen animosity and injustice towards the Church of Christ, unless they had previously renounced all part and interest in Jesus Christ, and consequently renounced all interest in their King and Head. Evidently, therefore, an open apostacy from all that constituted their proper essence, must have previously taken place. Since, then, St Paul had had experience from Philippi onwards of the hostility of the Gentile nature, to the holy earnestness of the Gospel, as also of the facility with which the Roman magistrates allowed themselves to be drawn into the service of this hatred; therefore, in that unfathomable wickedness which the Jews exhibited in Thessalonica, he was furnished with an infallible token, that (to use the words of his subsequent Epistle to the Thessalonians) *τὸ μυστήριον ἤδη ἐνεργεῖται τῆς ανομίας* (see 2 Tim. ii. 7). And it is quite consistent, if St Paul allows himself to be influenced by this impression, in his further instruction of the faithful in Thessalonica; and if he fully acquaints them with the prospects of the last times, which prophecy had sealed, while he simultaneously teaches them to direct their attention to the signs of the times. Since the position of the world at this date was such as to exhibit the general conditions of the consummation of wickedness, and since, moreover, there was at hand a sign of such an apostacy, as was to give the impulse to the final development of things; it could

not well be otherwise than that the Apostle should vividly realise both to himself and to his disciples that closing development. If, therefore, he did conceive it to be both possible and probable that he himself, together with his fellow-believers, who were then alive, should even in this body, and even in this life, be involved in the final development of things, as he undoubtedly avows at this date (see 1 Thess. iv. 15, 17), this is perfectly in accordance with the prevailing circumstances of the times; and on that ground alone it surely cannot possibly be right to come forward with the apparently liberal but essentially mischievous confession: St Paul was here under a delusion, and has attempted to know more than is permitted to man (see Lünemann ibid. 216, 217). For it is only half true that the events which St Paul believed to be near at hand, did not come to pass. At all events, the manifestation of the Lord and His day of wrath was at this time rapidly drawing on, and the judgment of God was being consummated in a way that affected the whole world; and yet only in such wise that the particular form of evil which at that time was most sensibly felt, and which, evidently during his residence at Thessalonica, most deeply grieved the Apostle, and most painfully harassed him, and on account of which he confidently asserted the proximity of the judgment—viz., the apostacy of the Jews from the salvation of God, was by itself put on its trial, and ultimately punished. The imputation, however, of error on the Apostle's part is perfectly untrue, because it is contradictory to the real fact, to assert that St Paul had arrogated to himself a measure of knowledge beyond what falls to the lot of man. Not only do we know in general the direct contrary, for it is precisely with regard to the point in question that he writes to the Church of Thessalonica: *περὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων καὶ τῶν καιρῶν οὐ χρείαν ἔχετε ὑμῖν γράφεσθαι· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἀκριβῶς οἴδατε ὅτι ἡ ἡμέρα κυρίου ὡς κλέπτης ἐν νυκτὶ οὕτως ἔρχεται* (see 1 Thess. v. 1, 2); but we also know that both by letter and by word of mouth, he had instructed the Thessalonians that the coming on of the last time was dependent on a certain condition; and although this condition was in the course of its fulfilment, it had not as yet been actually realised (see 2 Thess. ii. 3). Consequently, the Apostle had not merely in general terms strongly

insisted on the uncertainty of the last times (ακριβῶς οἴδατε, 1 Thess. v. 2), but he had directly taught them that the time had not yet come, and withal he had called their attention to a sign, the due regard of which is calculated to impart in all subsequent ages both calmness and moderation to the expectation of these last days. It readily admits, however, of explanation, that if St Paul did avow this expectation to believers, all his prudence and clearness would not be sufficient to prevent the outbreak of a certain degree of excitement and disquietude within the community. It was then very much as it is in the present day; we take individual facts exclusively into consideration, and when we have compared them with isolated traits of the last days to come, which the word of prophecy has communicated to us, the inference is drawn forthwith of the near approach of the last days. And from this it becomes explicable, if the believers in Thessalonica were anxiously solicitous about the fate of those who should have died before the coming of the Lord, so distinctly looked for in the immediate future (see 1 Thess. iv. 13—18)—that a little later not only a very great mental excitement prevailed (as is plainly expressed in the passage, 2 Thess. ii. 1—3), for the immediate expectation of the last coming had extensively gained ground, but that also idleness and indifferentism had found for itself a spiritual excuse, in the midst of this universal stretch of expectation for the close of all history (see 2 Thess. iii. 11, 12). In the present place, however, these features concern us only so far as they acquaint us with, and afford confirmation of, the fact, that when St Paul was labouring in Thessalonica, he laid to heart, very distinctly and very earnestly, the hopes and prospects of the faithful. But as he meets the already excited minds with the fulness of Apostolical moderation and calmness, so from the very beginning (as he afterwards expressly affirms) he had joined to all that he had taught them concerning the final evil, precise information of a limiting element, which as yet served as a hindrance to its extreme development (see 2 Thess. ii. 5—7). He had consequently not merely called the attention of believers to the fact, that there did exist a difference between the evil then present and prevailing, and its fullest measure; but he had also at the same time pointed to the power, which, by its presence, still

hindered this final consummation of wickedness, and which, therefore, must be got rid of before the evil could attain to its full height.

Now what is to be understood by this "letting" element which St Paul speaks of both as masculine and as neuter (ὁ κατέχων and τὸ κατέχον see 2 Thess. ii. 6, 7)? Not only is this not yet made out by the commentators, but also nothing has as yet been absolutely established as to the means by which it is to be determined, so that even down to the very latest times scarcely anything more than uncertain and hazardous guessing is discernible in this domain. I, however, am of opinion that the way to discover this notion is pointed out to us distinctly enough. This idea of the final development of evil had opened upon the mind of the Apostle while he was attempting to interpret his most recent experience by the light of the word of prophecy. Now did not the notion also of that, which "letteth" the mystery of iniquity, arise upon his mind in the same way? For had he not very recently had experience of such a power restraining and holding back iniquity, and has he not had experience of it in Thessalonica also? In Philippi, Paul and Silas, in collision with the haughty magistrates of the city, had appealed to the rights of Roman citizenship, and lo! human passions must yield before the majesty of law, and the maltreated witnesses of Jesus were able to depart with honour. And just so it was most assuredly a power which resisted evil, that found its utterance in the words, which the woman with the Spirit of divination spoke concerning the messengers of salvation in Philippi. In Thessalonica, at the very same time that the Jews began to entertain the thought of malicious treachery, an extraordinary aptitude for the Gospel was exhibited by the Gentiles, so that, whereas the Jews in the synagogue hardened their hearts against it, a great multitude of the heathen, who attended there, clave to Paul and Silas (see Acts xvii. 4); and hence it might well come to pass, that when the Jews came forward with their evil thoughts, and sought to induce the civic authorities to adopt their hostility against the believers, they were not really able to effect anything. And what are all these demonstrations of a power which wards off evil, but so many confirmations of the words of the man of Macedonia who had called Paul over into Europe?

These experiences of his most recent days (which pressed themselves on the Apostle's mind, in so far as it was pre-eminently among the Jews in Thessalonica from whom the impulse to injustice had proceeded, that the might of iniquity was most strongly manifested), must unquestionably have made a deep and powerful impression on St Paul. Judging, then, from this experience of his own life, the power which still withheld the outbreak of extreme corruption must have appeared to be contained in the heathen world, whereas the evil prevailed and worked most consciously and most originally among the Jews.

With regard to this consolatory and soothing portion of his most recent experience, which is communicated to us in the narrative of St Luke, not less carefully than those sad and agitating scenes; would not St Paul derive instruction and satisfaction from the words of prophecy, even as it was from that very source that he sought for it in the case of the latter. Must not the same passage of prophecy, if at least (what it certainly has the appearance of) it possesses a real significance for the whole general development, supply us with information on the one as well as on the other? The question, therefore, arises, whether the word of Daniel from which the Apostle became acquainted with the shape of the man of sin, has also made any declarations on this point? It really has, and to my mind there is an apparent correspondence, even under this aspect, between the experiences of the Prophet and those of the Apostle, and accordingly of the Scriptures of Daniel with the doctrine of St Paul, which seems to me extremely remarkable. As Daniel had been permitted to behold and to feel the ungodly shape and might of the secular power, and was permitted to foresee that this power would long resist the people of God and afflict them with the excess of oppression, yet to console him for so sad a present and so gloomy a future, a spiritual power was pointed out, which, in the very midst of the empire of the world, resisted evil and operated for good (see Dan. x. 20, 21; cf. Hofmann Weissag. u. Erfullung. i. 311. 313.). And this communication from the realm of spirits, could not be unintelligible to Daniel, because, along with his awful experiences—so full of fear for the future—of the godlessness of the powers of this world, he had, in the centre of the empire of the world, witnessed decided impulses, and even decisions for the

better. We have only to think of the conversion of Nebuchadnezzar; the commendation of Daniel by the queen; and the favour of Darius the Mede. And just so, if, on the one hand, his own history led St Paul to think of the shapes of horror in the writings of Daniel; on the other hand, he could not well but be carried onwards by the more cheering solace he had also experienced, to that soothing revelation of the same Prophet relative to the spiritual power which, amidst the empires of this world, nevertheless operated for good. And perhaps, by a special intervention, a more immediate impulse to this end was given him. When Daniel received these revelations touching the threatening and pernicious powers of the empires of the world, which were to succeed one another in hostility to the people of God, for whose salvation and for whose help, as the holy nation, another spiritual world works in counteraction, he had previously been mourning and fasting for three weeks (see Dan. x. 1—3), and he afterwards learned that his mourning and fasting accurately coincided with the struggle of the good angel of the empire of the world with the prince of the kingdom of grace (see x. 13; cf. v. 1—3), in which struggle he had endured all the evil power of the kingdoms of the world. And exactly for three weeks had St Paul borne witness to the truth that Jesus was the Christ, in the synagogue of Thessalonica, before Jews and Gentiles, with all the energy that he could command (see Acts xvii. 2). And the consequence of this effort was, that the Jews were seized with the spirit of unbelief and of malice; while the heathen, on the contrary, in great numbers yielded themselves to the spirit of faith and obedience; and moreover, the faith of the Gentiles, brought about in this way, was the cause why the malice of the Jews against the people of God was prevented from succeeding in its object. Now, by this parallel of the three weeks, and their results in both cases, was it not likely that the Apostle would be rendered still more thoughtful to notice carefully the conflict in the spiritual kingdom, and that his attention would be directed still more decidedly to the traces of the existence of a good Spirit?

If then, the question arises, what did St Paul understand by the *κατέχων* and *κατέχον*, I am convinced that Hofmann has discovered its true meaning when he refers us to the passages of

Daniel's prophecy which point out to us a power prevailing even among the powers of the empires of this world, and subserving the Divine counsels of salvation; and which can be equally well expressed either by a masculine phrase, for it is a man who speaks to Daniel (see x. 5), or by the neuter, for he is even a Spirit, such as Michael, see x. 21 (see Hofmann Schriftbeweis. i. 307, 308; cf. 286—296).

Now, if we set out from this conception of the internal condition of the Apostle at this date, his labours in Athens will appear to us in yet a new light. The pleasant experience which he had had at Berea of the susceptibility of the Jews, was soon counteracted by that of the animosity with which the Jews from Thessalonica had driven him out of Berea; so that ultimately his feeling must have been that he was rejected by his countrymen, and had nothing to look to but the more favourable susceptibilities of the Gentiles. In such a state of mind he arrived at Athens. Now, if in the colonial city of Philippi, St Paul could venture to appeal to, and to avail himself of, the constitution of the Roman empire, and if by means of that good spiritual power whose influence prevails even in the heathen world, that constitution evinced itself a power strong enough to resist evil, how much more disposed must he have felt to make use of the enlightenment of the Athenian mind, that one bright star in the wide heavens of the night of heathendom? Herein the Apostle acted, as we have seen, with a love and a devotion which can never be surpassed. But the result was very different from what he might well have looked for; it won neither concurrence nor confidence, but was met with mockery and derision. Where then was the good spirit of heathendom now? It kept itself aloof and hidden from the Apostle, and St Paul saw nothing but evil prevailing in the world, and reigning with unlimited power. It was not, therefore, without deliberation, that in writing of this period he asserted: *ἠθελήσαμεν, ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἐγὼ μὲν Παῦλος καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δὶς, καὶ ἐνέκοψεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Σατανᾶς* (see 1 Thess. ii. 18). St Paul then came to Corinth, and now at length we can fully understand him, if he writes: "I was with you in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling" (see 1 Cor. ii. 3). He had received comfort from the presence of Aquila, and from the arrival of his two fellow-labourers from Macedonia, and yet he still

needed the encouraging and comforting word of the Lord (see Acts xviii. 9, 10). How perfectly different was the state in which he had formerly entered Thessalonica! He came there, it is true, fresh from the jail and from the scourging in Philippi; but yet he had begun his preaching there in power and in much assurance (see 1 Thess. i. 5). The events which, in the mean while, had occurred, had effected a total change in his feelings. Is it not here, then, that we ought to look for the precise point to which we must assign the beginning of this state, of which St Luke reports to us the close in the passage, where he describes St Paul as on the point of starting from the extreme limit of the Corinthian territory? In the Roman colonial city of Philippi St Paul had appealed to the imperial law; the effect was but trifling; in Athens, with the greatest exertion of love and wisdom, he had appealed to all the knowledge of man which Athenian enlightenment had attained to; and most painful, consequently, must he have felt the disappointment of this exertion of all his powers. The condition of the world, in the meanwhile, has remained unchanged—a fact which the arrival of the Jewish couple —fugitives from Italy—which followed immediately upon his own entrance into Corinth, must have brought vividly before his eyes (see Acts xviii. 2). For whatever may have been the motive which impelled the Roman emperor Claudius to drive the Jews from Rome, it was in any case an act of the sovereignty of the world to which the people of God were given up as a prey. Now St Paul had laboured, and exerted to the utmost, all his powers of mind and body in order that at this time (when the height of falsehood threatened every moment to ally itself with the height of injustice with the view of bringing about the personal manifestation of lawlessness and iniquity), he might induce whatever susceptible hearts were yet to be found among the Gentiles to embrace the offers of eternal salvation, in order that in union with the good spirit of the heathen imperial power, he might let and withhold the final outbreak of corruption and iniquity, and so effect the preservation of many souls. It must, however, have been a very natural suggestion to the Apostle's mind to deliberate whether his efforts would not be more effectual, if in this holy work, he were to follow outwardly also the lofty precedent of Daniel, and attempt to fulfil his vocation not so much by the exertion of

his active energies, as by a voluntary self-denial. And this deliberation was, moreover, naturally suggested to him, as well by his own conversion, which had slowly arrived at a consciousness of the utter nullity of all his own strength, as also by his call which was given to him in the words: "I will show him how great things he must suffer for My name's sake" (see Acts ix. 16). When, then, on this general basis of the mental state of the Apostle, which the facts of his latest experience were only calculated to confirm and to increase, the figure of the mourning and fasting Daniel was joined by the idea of Samson the Nazarite, who, being moved by the Spirit of Jehovah, sought an alliance with the Philistines, the resolution of the Apostle not to enter upon his new field of labour in the Græco-Roman city of Corinth, except under the vow of the Nazarite, would naturally mature itself very quickly.

Is not this really the picture which all the traits that are known to us of the Apostle's first residence in Corinth present to our minds? As regards St Paul's view of the world, the Epistles to the Thessalonians, which were written during his labours in Corinth, shew us that the reflections both on the present and the future, which were suggested by all that he witnessed and underwent in that city, had in the meantime been deeply impressed on his mind, and had assumed a very definite shape. The view which he had gained of the Roman imperial system in the great capital of Achaia, as well as, on the one hand, the information he received from Aquila and Priscilla concerning Rome, the seat of the imperial power; as also, on the other hand, the repetition in Corinth of the bitter annoyance which the conduct of the Jews everywhere occasioned him, could not, indeed, have made any other impression on him. And, in like manner, there was in Corinth no lack of the opposite experience of a good power ever present in the heathen world, which shewed a resistance to iniquity, and letted and hindered its fullest manifestation (cf. Acts xviii. 5; 1 Thess. iii. 6—8). Kern is perfectly justified, when, in reference to 2 Thess. ii. 1—12, he says, "It was from a view of the existing state of the world, that the author was led to utter his declarations concerning Antichrist, and whatever besides is connected with it" (see Tubinger Zeitschr. 1839, 2, 200), only this critic ought not to have drawn his representation of the state

of the world, from the declarations of Tacitus and Suetonius, but from those of Isaiah and Daniel. Now, if we steadily adhere to this, the only sure track, we shall be led back to St Paul's residence in Corinth. How the adoption of the vow of a Nazarite —as understood by the Apostle St Paul—was perfectly consistent with this view of the state of the world, we have already attempted to point out generally. As a special trait, pointing to this position of the Apostle in Corinth, one circumstance, moreover, may be prominently adduced out of the Epistle to the Thessalonians; and that is, that on no other occasion, either by word of mouth or by letter, has the Apostle laid so great stress on soberness, as he does in the passage, 1 Thess. v. 6, 8. But, in the present place, especial consideration is due to what St Paul incidentally observes, in his Second Epistle to the Corinthians, relative to the mode and manner of his bearing throughout his first residence in Corinth. Thus the Apostle tells us that he had purposely determined (ἔκρινα) not to preach any thing among them save Jesus Christ and Him crucified (see 1 Cor. ii, 2), "Unto the Jews a stumbling block, and to the Greeks foolishness" (see 1 Cor. i. 23); and that, in this preaching, he had purposely and expressly renounced all idea of investing his ideas in "the enticing words of man's wisdom" (see 1 Cor. i. 17; ii. 4, 13). How excellently does such a resolution agree with the adoption of a state of life, which, as opposed to the world, points to a renunciation of pleasure, and before God testifies to a confession, that we have no strength of our own. If St Paul designates his whole position among the Corinthians as one of weakness (see 1 Cor. xi. 3), this weakness of his whole appearance proved to the gainsayers an occasion for contempt (see 2 Cor. x. 1, 10). It was, however, a weakness to which (as we see from several declarations, see 1 Cor. ix. 22; iv. 10; 2 Cor. xi. 11), he had voluntarily condescended. What, however, could be more calculated to leave a deep impression of weakness than the appearance of a Nazarite, who had renounced all enjoyment of the world, and, at the feet of God, had renounced all reliance on his own strength? It is, it is true, a dishonour to a man to wear long hair, for he signifies thereby his subjection to another; this is the Apostle's own conviction (see 1 Cor. xi. 14). But can that consideration withhold him from taking this vow, or would it not rather recommend it to

him, as he had learned to acknowledge that dishonour in the service of his Lord, was most appropriate to his condition (see 1 Cor. iv. 10); for he knew that a man, however free and independent he may be in regard to all his fellows in the world, yet stands before God in the same relative position as the woman does to the man (see 1 Cor. xi. 3); and that, consequently, he who is vividly and abidingly conscious of this relation to God, can very well wear with honour the long hair of dishonour.

Among the signs which direct our thoughts to St Paul's condition of dishonour and weakness, we shall have to reckon also the great and incomparable results which he was permitted to see attending his labours in Corinth. It was one of the leading ideas of his life, that the strength of Christ was made perfect, and worked even in his weakness; and, precisely on that account, was his weakness dear to him, because in such a state he could venture to feel certain of the assistance of the strength of the Lord (see 2 Cor. xi. 9). It is, therefore, on this ground that he represents it as the general experience of his life, "When I am weak, then am I strong" (see 2 Cor. xi. 10). The internal state of the Nazarite does not admit of being described more individually than in the assertion which St Paul here makes before the Corinthians, with regard to his own peculiar position. And the Corinthian Church, in its whole existence and prosperity, was the practical testimony to the truth of these assertions. Why was Samson stronger than any one in Israel? Why was it that Samson destroyed more Philistines than any other Israelite? From this single cause, that in obedience to the Divine instruction, he wore on his body, all his life, the sign of weakness and of dishonour. As in this sign lay the secret of his strength, so the secret of St Paul's strength, who had laboured and accomplished infinitely more than all the rest together (see 1 Cor. xv. 10), lay in contentedness with his own weakness and dishonour, which, in consequence of his special circumstances, was, during his labours in Corinth, represented also externally. And, accordingly, in this city the wonderful power of Christ allowed it to attain to an efficacy such as had been never before, and never since has been, witnessed. Why had he so pure and joyful a conscience with regard to his conversation before the Corinthian, as before no other Church? (see 2 Cor. i. 12). Because

nowhere had his conversation been so entirely in conformity with the inmost law of his being as here, where, by an outward representation, he had kept the law ever present before his mind. On this account, no Church that had been gathered together by the testimony of the Apostle, possessed such an abundance of gifts and spiritual powers as the Corinthian Church was able to boast of (see 1 Cor. i. 4—9; 2 Cor. vii. 13—16; viii. 7; ix. 3). There may have been Churches towards which the love of the Apostle remained more undisturbed and less interrupted (as was the case with the first fruits of Europe, the Church of Philippi); but there never was another besides the Corinthian, on which the Apostle leaned so entirely with all the energies of his soul, and towards which his whole man attained to so full a manifestation in every respect. He speaks of this Church as the seal of his Apostleship, as his answer to those who accused him (see 1 Cor. ix. 2, 3); in this Church, consequently, the force of his Apostolical vocation, must have been manifested in so transcendent a measure as nowhere else it had been; and, consequently, this Church, with its virtues and its faults, lay nearer to his heart than any other (2 Cor. vii. 13—16). Still more characteristic is the conception according to which St Paul calls the Church in Corinth and Achaia, both an Epistle, which is written in his heart, known and read of all men, and also as an Epistle of Jesus Christ, of which St Paul had been the minister, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God (see 2 Cor. iii. 2, 3). In the one aspect of this conception, he depicts the spiritual connection which he had with this community, according to which the whole reality of it was accurately and sharply imprinted on his heart; and as this connection was for the Apostle an element of life, so this signature of the Corinthian Church, as he carried it in his heart, came forward externally also in word and writing, and thereby became manifest; with the other aspect of this idea, he designed to exhibit the whole plenitude and manifold variety of the spiritual life in the Church as a work of Christ, by means of which, the Lord had revealed on earth the thoughts of His grace and wisdom, practically, indeed, but still intelligibly and transparently enough. And in this work of the revelation of the Lord, the Apostle had held the position of a minister attending on the outward circumstances of it. One easily sees that these are confessions of a wholly peculiar and singular kind, which be-

token such a precision, and such an extent of the operation of grace, which were brought about by the hand of the Apostle in this place, as upon the assumption of this condition of weakness, we were well justified in taking for granted. It is, therefore, also no marvel that St Paul, even after his three years' labours in Ephesus, should speak of the foundation of the Church in Corinth and Achaia as the highest degree to which he had attained, not according to his own purpose, but in the measure appointed for him by the Lord (see 2 Cor. x. 13—16). Among the great results which St Paul accomplished during his residence in Corinth, we must, moreover, reckon the commencement of his epistolary intercourse with the Churches. It is admitted that he wrote from this city his first Epistles—the two, viz., to the Thessalonians, in which we recognise the fact of their being the first, even in the circumstance that there is more frequent mention of letter-writing in them than in any other (see 1 Thess. v. 27 ; 2 Thess. ii. 2, 15 ; iii. 14 ; iii. 17). How great and how profound was the work which was opened with this beginning, will never be fully mea sured and known, until the Church of the Gentiles, which, with the foundation of the Church at Corinth, had acquired a new metropolis, shall have the end of its times appointed to it. But even now the great importance of this work comes in such measure before our eyes, that we cannot help regarding as very remarkable in this context, the highly significant coincidence of the sacred commencement of this work with the condition of life entailed by the Nazarite's vow of the Apostle.

With all his brevity and objectivity of narrative, St Luke has not, however, neglected to bring before our notice all that was great and unparalleled in the effects which the Apostle had in view by his labours, and by his residence at Corinth. Is not the conversion of Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, and his coming over from the synagogue of the Jews into the assembly of the Gentiles (see xviii. 8), a sign of the conversion of Israel, which, through the grace of God unto the Gentiles, will, one day, be led back again to its true God. And is not the conversion of the Gentiles, in this place, thereby set forth as a beginning of the coming in of the fulness of the Gentiles into the kingdom of God? Moreover, what a place was that of which the Lord said "I have much people in this city?" (see xvii. 18). It is true that St Luke has not reported that St

Paul did convert, nor by what means he effected the conversion of, this great multitude unto the Lord; but the fact is so intelligible, that he has purposely omitted to narrate it, and has preferred to leave it to be inferred from the glorious issue which was destined to flow from the hatred and persecution of the Jews in Corinth.

We are now in a position to measure the deep significance of the retrospect, which St Luke designed to lead us to make, when he recorded the words *κειράμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς, εἶχε γὰρ εὐχήν* (see xviii. 18). It is intimated that we should infer from thence that, during his labours in Corinth, St Paul lived in a state of weakness and self-denial which was both established by law, and adopted in a special signification; and in the second place, we also understand that it was precisely owing to this state of weakness that he was enabled to carry out the great work which the Lord had bidden him commence in this locality, in such wise that even the malice of the Jews was doomed to be frustrated by the resistance of the Roman Proconsul, as also by the Grecian population. It is, moreover, clear that St Paul at last took leave of Corinth, and of the brethren there, because he felt in his heart the conviction that he had brought the work of the Lord in this place preliminarily to a close. And, accordingly, was it not quite natural that he should now put off his long hair, and his vow, at the very moment when he was at the point of departing from the harbour of Corinth? Or ought we perhaps to hold the opinion that St Paul, after having had such experience of the glorious consequences of his vow, must necessarily have retained this position throughout the whole period of his labours? This St Paul could not, and must not do, precisely on this account, that it was his vocation to exhibit, and to set forth also the strength and the liberty that is in Christ (see Rom. xv. 1; Gal. v. 1; 1 Cor. vi. 12, x. 23; Col. ii. 16—22; 1 Tim. iv. 3).

That on his voyage to Syria, Paul should arrive first of all at Ephesus, may well have had its ground in the circumstance, that the vessel in which he set sail from Cenchrea was bound for Ephesus. So far, his coming to Ephesus was involuntary. That, however, the Apostle was conscious of having, upon his departure from Corinth, commenced a perfectly new stage of labours,

follows from the fact, that he employs the time during which he had to tarry in Ephesus before he could set out on his further course, in visiting the synagogue, and entering into communication with the Jews there. For Ephesus was the chief city in Asia Proper (see Winer bibl. Realwört. i. 97). But during his previous residence in Asia, the Apostle had been expressly forbidden to preach the word of God in Asia. We, therefore, see that he did not now consider himself to be any longer bound by the Divine prohibition. The reason, however, of this prohibition was, as has been so distinctly shown, the fact that Europe was the spot in which St Paul was primarily called to labour. Accordingly, the Apostle must have felt convinced that he had performed the work which had been enjoined on him in Troas, and consequently, that he was free to exercise here also his Apostolical functions. When, then, in this synagogue the result of his preaching was the rare and encouraging one, that they entreated him to tarry a while with them, he held out to them the prospect of an early return to Ephesus. And that he could not make a longer stay there, we know from his plan, as communicated to us, of returning to Antioch in Syria: according, however, to the common reading of verse 21, St Paul gives another reason—his intention of keeping the coming festival in Jerusalem. As, however, these words are wanting from three ancient manuscripts, it is a favourite view of the critics, that they are spurious; and Lachman and Tischendorf have even struck them out of the text; although Meyer (see p. 237), and Wieseler (see Chronolog. der apostol. Zeiltalters p. 47) have, as I think, very triumphantly maintained the genuineness of this clause. For the omission of these words may be explained by two motives; first, because Syria, and not Jerusalem, was given out, in the above passage, as the goal of his journey; and, secondly, because, a little further on, we have likewise no mention of the Holy City. On the other hand, however, it is really impossible to see how these words could have got into the text if they did not originally form a part of it. And, indeed, it is certainly very difficult to urge anything against the possibility of St Paul having associated with his proposed journey to Syria the intention of keeping the coming festival in Jerusalem. No doubt, our rigorous critics do not allow the real Paul to lay so

much store by a Jewish festival as for its sake to put off to some undefined future time, a favourable opportunity of spreading the Gospel (see Schneckenburger Zweck der Apostelgesch. S. 67. 68. Zeller theolog. Jahrb. 1849. 548, 549, 582—584). But what if we shall be able to point out, not from the Acts of the Apostles, but from an unquestionably genuine epistle, a passage where St Paul himself avows that he had allowed an important opportunity which the Lord himself had provided of preaching the Gospel (for the sake of which alone he was then at the particular spot) to pass over, simply because he had not the peace of mind which was requisite (see 2 Cor. ii. 12. 13). Since, then, the reason which here withheld the Apostle from making use of an opportunity of exercising his pre-eminent vocation (which, according to his own statement, was no ordinary one) was a purely subjective one, we clearly see that the great Apostle does not allow us to convert his unequalled zeal for the Gospel into an iron inflexible law, in order therewith to subject all that he does, or does not, to one single object. It is quite clear that he is as little disposed to allow his liberty to be constrained by the critics, as he was to submit to any compulsion on the part of the Jews (see Gal. ii. 4, 5). But, granting this, why does he choose to celebrate a Jewish festival, and that, too, in Jerusalem? Does he not elsewhere teach us that all days are alike, and that an end had been put to festivals, and to days of the new moon, and the like? (see Rom. xiv. 5, 6; Gal. iv. 10; Col. ii. 16). And does he not also maintain the proposition that the earthly Jerusalem was in bondage, and bare on it the image of the Egyptian bondwoman? (see Gal. iv. 25). Here again we must bear in mind that the Apostle, St Paul, never intended to set up a mechanical view of liberty, and so, under the semblance of liberty, to establish a new kind of slavery. This results clearly enough from the fact, that he did by no means abolish the distinction of days merely as such (see Rom. xiv. 5, 6). But the question here is not what is allowable for the weak brother, for St Paul belongs to the strong (see Rom. xv. 1); nor what may be done out of accommodation to the weakness of others, for they are not here spoken of; on the contrary, the expression *πάντως δεῖ* seems to point to some inner necessity. Now, let us realize to our minds the actual St Paul,

this Israelite, descended from Pharisees, and educated by Pharisees: no doubt he is dead to the law; the life of justification by the law, in all its parts, and with all its motives, has been put to death; but still, St Paul knows that, in itself, the law is holy and just, and good (see Rom. vii. 12); that it is spiritual in all its parts (see Rom. vii. 14), and set forth as the rule of a life of holiness for the people of God. Was it not then absolutely natural, and, indeed, necessary, that even as he had observed the ordinances of the law in a carnal manner, he should now, after he has learned its spiritual meaning, and been made partaker of the same Spirit, that originally decreed the ordinances of the law, feel a longing desire to observe for once the legal ordinances in such a manner as that the outward form and shape might be filled with the becoming Spirit? When, further, we assume that, in all probability, the approaching festival was that of Pentecost (see Wieseler Chronologie des apostol. Zeitalters S. 50, 60), such a longing becomes still more explicable. For the feast of Pentecost was the very day on which the offering of the first fruits of humanity had been accomplished, and the Apostle felt that it was even in continuation of the holy work on that day commenced, that he was then engaged in his vocation among the Gentiles; and even now he was conscious that he had united in love with their Lord and God a very numerous representation of the men of Europe (see 2 Cor. xi. 2). Who then will feel any difficulty in conceiving, that at such a moment, the Apostle felt within him an irresistible impulse to offer in the holy city of God itself—in communion with his brethren in the flesh—on the day of the offering of the bread of the first fruits of Israel—on the day of the union of Israel with Jehovah on Mount Sinai (see Delitsch das Hohelied, S. 201)—on the day of the outpouring of the Spirit, and of the speaking with tongues of the Church of the first-fruits which embraced in itself the whole futurity of the Church—the thank-offering of his heart for the grace of God vouchsafed to himself, and to the Gentiles, in the Land of the Isles?

If then, we must accordingly look upon the objection of these critics as an undue interference with the personal liberty of the Apostle; we are only the more justified in demanding of these persons themselves what they are able to present to us in the

place of this statement, which is both in itself so perfectly credible and also so characteristic of the Apostle? Schneckenburger, after having ascribed to the subjective feelings of the reporter the record of the words which St Paul, relatively to this matter, addressed to the Jews in Ephesus, goes on to ask, "Can the object which prevails in the passage, chap. xviii. 19—21, be any other than that of shewing that St Paul faithfully observed the Jewish festivals?" (see ibid. p. 67), and then Zeller comes forward with the assertion that, according to the balance of probabilities, it was in a dogmatic interest that the author invented this journey of St Paul to Jerusalem (see ibid. S. 584). But these critics must themselves see to it, and shew how it is possible for them to reconcile this consciousnes of design, with the circumstance that the journey itself is only incidentally mentioned, and also that nothing at all is said of what was done by St Paul in Jerusalem in compliance with these Jewish customs. For although Zeller is certainly justified in maintaining that ἀναβάς points to Jerusalem, and to no other place, (as for instance Cesarea, to which in the opinion of some commentators, it does refer), still it is perfectly inconceivable that any writer, with a conscious purpose, could have invented this journey to Jerusalem, and yet, in his description of this journey, never once expressly have named the place which was both the object and the cause of it. And so also, I should like to know how ever it was likely or possible for Judaizers to be won over and favourably disposed to the Apostle Paul (according to the opinion and design of a book-maker inventing the history), by a report which does not contain in it a single syllable relative to the keeping of this festival by St Paul in Jerusalem. To gain such a result—in itself so perfectly untenable, their bold stroke must have appeared, even to these critics themselves, to have cost too high a price.

If, on the contrary, we take, as it is just we should, the words of the Apostle to the Jews in Ephesus to be historically true, then we shall find that all is perfectly consistent. For it is even when we assume that it was to satisfy an internal need that St Paul determined on this journey to Jerusalem, that we become able to understand why St Luke, in his subsequent history, merely slightly notices the performance of this resolution. It was even because this journey contributed nothing further for

the development of the Church as a body. But it was very different with his stay in Antioch, where St Luke tells us that he spent some time (ver. 23), for that city had been the starting point as well of the second as of the first of the Apostle's missionary journeys (see xv. 40), and his return to it, and his report to the brethren there (see xiv. 27, 28), formed properly the close of the second work of the conversion of the Gentiles which was effected by the hand of St Paul. According to the most probable opinion it was during this residence of the Apostle in Antioch (see Neander Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leit. 277—282) that we are to fix that meeting of St Paul with Peter which forms the subject of the notice in Gal. ii. 11—21. As St Luke had related how the subject of this dispute had, in all essential respect, been settled once for all, in the great synod at Jerusalem, he did not, as we have stated above, feel called upon to take any notice of this meeting. There certainly was, however, another point-of-view from which the record of it might have appeared to St Luke to be of great consequence even for the end he had in view. It is well-known that St Augustine has laid great stress on the fact of St Peter's silence under the sharp and public reproof of St Paul, and has seen in it a sign of true Apostolical humility. This silent humiliation before the truth, as testified by the mouth of St Paul, may, in my opinion, be justly regarded as an important crisis in the life and labours of St Peter. The fact that, out of deference to the Jews who had come down in the company of St James, St Peter began to withdraw from the Gentiles, must have had its source in a darkening of his knowledge of the determinate counsel of God to put aside the people of Israel in the development of the immediate future of the kingdom of God. The past history of Israel, and the importance of its future, had made its weight to be felt in the opposite scale, and having come upon him in an unguarded moment, it had caused him to stumble. If, in consequence, he had to undergo a public humiliation—if he who, at the Jordan and the sea of Gennesaret, had received from Jesus the title of the Rock, must submit to rebuke from him who had been the enemy and the persecutor of the Church, such an incident can have had no other effect upon him than a complete change and renewal. And when, in later times, we become

sensible of a perfectly new spring and impulse in the life and labours of St Peter, to what date and to what more influential occasion can we readily ascribe it than to this meeting with St Paul? At the time when the enmity of the world had reached its height in Jerusalem, St Peter concluded that the moment had arrived when the Apostles should leave the Holy City; but still the time was not yet come either for him or for the other Apostles to go forth unto the ends of the earth (cf. vol. i. p. 289—294); and, consequently, at the date of the great synod of Jerusalem, we still found the Apostles residing there. Occasionally St Peter had gone to Antioch and had evidently remained there for some considerable period. This journey to the imperial city, where the Church of the Gentile Christians took its beginning, and from which the Gospel had continually spread in every direction, must, it cannot be denied, be regarded as a step in advance on the road once entered upon; especially if we bear in mind how the Apostles held back upon the first tidings of the foundation of the Church in Antioch (see vol. i. p. 260, 261). And simply on account of this visit of St Peter to the Gentiles in Antioch, the opinion of Wieseler, which we refuted above, but which Kurtz (see Lehrbuch d. Heil-geschichte S. 264. 5te Aufl.) has lately adopted, that the understanding between the two Apostles, according to which St Peter was acknowledged as the Apostle of the circumcision, took place during that residence at Jerusalem which is here spoken of, must be looked upon as perfectly inadmissible. When St Peter goes to Antioch and addresses himself to the Gentiles, he is evidently following in the track of Barnabas, John Mark, Silas, and others. But it was precisely at the very moment when he had begun to go to work seriously and in earnest with his vocation to the Gentiles, and to the ends of the earth, that he is made fully sensible of his own as yet unconquered weakness. Just as he had begun to separate himself from Israel, not merely in ideas and in words, but in his whole bearing and labours, the thought of the incalculable responsibility of such a step on his part—the first of the twelve patriarchs of the new Israel—recurs in its full gravity to his conscience, when the brethren in communion with St James, who, in the strength of Divine patience and hope, still continued in the Holy City, came down to Antioch from Jerusalem. The Apostle

had sunk beneath the weight of this thought, and was on that account reproved by St Paul in the sight of all, and then seems to have turned again to the way he had entered upon, with a resolution renewed and confirmed by the Spirit. Such is manifestly the light in which he is represented to us.

For, at a later period, we find the Apostle Peter closely connected with the Churches in Asia Minor, which consisted for the most part of Gentiles (see 1 Pet. i. 1), and, indeed, he even looks upon these Churches as established in the rights and inheritance of Israel (see 1 Pet. i. 1. ἐκλεκτοὶ παρεπίδημοι διασπορᾶς 1 Pet. ii. 9, 10). Moreover, we find him surrounded by those whom we first became acquainted with as the companions of St Paul on his missionary journeys among the Gentiles; such as Silvanus (see 1 Pet. v. 12) and Mark, whom he calls his son (1 Pet. v. 13). From all this we see that in the course which the development of ecclesiastical affairs subsequently assumed, St Peter proceeded to the region of St Paul's labours, and we may with the greater confidence adopt this view, inasmuch as we possess a declaration of St Peter himself, from which it results that he was himself conscious of this relation. For in his second epistle, chap. iii. 15, 16, he affirms that St Paul had also written to the same Churches as he himself was addressing in his epistle, and he makes this avowal in terms which at the same time acknowledge the authority of the "beloved brother Paul." After these facts, and especally after this declaration, can any one doubt that the correspondence between the Epistles of St Peter and those of St Paul, both in form and matter, had its source in an intentional and conscious adoption of the tendency and method of the Apostle of the Gentiles? And hereby a deep insight into the soul of St Peter is opened out to us. When in Antioch, he must perforce have felt ashamed beneath the reproof administered to him by St Paul; it could not be otherwise than that he understood in his inmost soul that St Paul had been called by the Lord in order to have, and to carry into effect, the most original insight and the most thoroughly conscious knowledge of the existing position and development of the Church of Christ. As then, in the words and deeds of St Paul, he could not but recognize and perceive the manifest presence of the Lord and His Spirit, his fixed resolution was immediately taken to give himself

up to the guidance of his Lord, in such a way as to abandon and renounce in all his operations the prominent character—the originality and independence—which unquestionably beseemed his whole position, and to adopt rather the shape of a fellow-labourer and follower of the Apostle Paul. As then the duty was enjoined on St Paul in his Apostleship of the Gentiles to announce to the Jews the sentence of condemnation, so in the circumstance that not he himself but another was to lead him (see John xxi. 18), St Peter was to discern that it was his duty to follow the track of the thirteenth Apostle, the Apostle of the Gentiles. As at a later date St John followed exactly the same course, and bestowed his attention on the Churches of Asia-Minor founded by the Apostle Paul, it becomes still more clear what good grounds St Luke had, when, following the Church in the third stadium of its development, he directs our attention exclusively to St Paul. For, as contrasted with the position latterly assumed by the original Apostles, the conduct of St Paul shines forth in still brighter light; for inasmuch as he had expressly laid it down as a principle never to enter another's field of labour (see 2 Cor. x. 13—17; Rom. xv. 20, 21), he thereby makes it known that he felt a deep conviction that he was called for the purpose of breaking a road for the Gospel through the world even unto the ends of the earth. Naturally, by this it is not meant to be asserted that the subsequent labours of the original Apostles in the Church of the Gentiles, which had been placed originally under the Apostolical care of St Peter, were of no great consequence. The very circumstance that St Peter and St John resolve to labour in the Churches of Asia-Minor, which had been founded by St Paul himself or his follow-labourers, was of incomparable importance and significancy in the maintenance of unity in the further development of the Church, and in preserving the connection between the Gentile Church and the Jewish Church of the beginning, and that is as much as to say—in giving to the Church of Christ, in the subsequent course of ages, its own true and salutary shape. For, by their uninterrupted communion with the history of redemption in Israel, these Apostles pre-eminently possessed the capacity and the vocation to introduce, by their written and their oral testimony, that element into the Church of the Gentiles which, on the one hand, should guard the community of the

faithful from admixture with the world of the Gentiles, and on the other, should prepare it for the reception, one day, of the people of God. But this special and peculiar signification of the original Apostles in their later labours, is even so hidden and concealed, as that it is the silence of Luke that brings it to light.

The due consideration of this relation possesses two advantages for a right insight into the course of development here laid before us. First of all, we understand from it why it was that St Luke did not hold it to be necessary to make any mention in the present place of this incident between St Peter and St Paul in Antioch; and secondly, we discern the reason why, in the following verses, St Luke is so careful to make mention of Apollos, and to introduce him fully to our notice. The greater the influence on the further diffusion of the Gospel, which the foundation of the Church in Corinth is in the present section represented as possessing, the more important becomes the question whether, if St Paul himself (as would appear from his own declarations and from his further undertakings which are mentioned in this paragraph) does not intend to return for a long time to Corinth, any one is to carry on his work in this important station, and if so, to whom that lofty vocation is to fall? As the Corinthian Church was flourishing at its height, one might perhaps entertain the opinion that it might have been very well left to itself. But on the one hand, precisely the very fact that in this imperial city so numerous a body had been received into the communion of faith, involved a peculiar danger, which, as we have already clearly seen in the case of the Samaritans (see vol. i. 168, 169), had its ground in the very essence of heathenism. And as soon as any danger of a corruption of the Christian principle by the manifold impurities of heathendom in a Greco-Roman city presented itself, it must be guarded against the more carefully, the more incomparable was the influence which the Church in Corinth would possess for the diffusion of Christianity in the west. It is probable, no doubt, that Paul did leave Silas and Timothy behind him in Corinth, since there is no mention of his having taken them with him (ver. 18): but, however capable they may have been of meeting the wants of the Church in Berea and Thessalonica, still it admits of very grave question, whether they were equal to all that would be required to be done in the Corinthian Church.

St Paul had now brought to a conclusion his immediate work in Corinth and in Achaia, and he, no doubt, had commended to the Lord the believers in that city, just as he had formerly done in the Churches of Asia-Minor (see xiv. 23). Now it was the Lord who, without the knowledge and co-operation of St Paul, sent to the believers in Corinth such a pastor and such a teacher as was even needful and salutary for them. This propagation, however, of the work of St Paul in Corinth—this substitute for his absence—was so guided and managed by the Lord, that therein the authority of the Pauline Apostolate to the Gentile Church, attains to a clear manifestation and realisation. As this is what is signified by the report concerning Apollos, we may with good reason be allowed to speak of this vicarious position of Apollos in the place of the absent St Paul in the Corinthian Church, as the proper climax of the scene lying before us.

For while, in the countries of Galatia and Phrygia, St Paul is strengthening all the disciples (ver. 23)—a statement which, moreover, contains a confirmation of our view of the passage xvi. 6—an Alexandrian Jew, Apollos by name, comes to Ephesus and is introduced to us as a teacher specially gifted in the things belonging to the Spirit. For he possessed—an accomplishment which his Alexandrian origin furnished him with the best opportunity of acquiring (see Bleek Einleitung in den Brief an die Hebræer S. 394—402)—the gift of a discourse at once eloquent and rich in thought (*ἀνὴρ λόγιος* see Wetstein ad. v. 24), as well as a powerful and convincing argumentation, founded on the Sacred Scriptures (*δυνατὸς ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς*, ver. 24). This noble faculty of constraining the convictions of men, as well as the fervour of his Spirit (*ζέων τῷ πνεύματι* ver. 25), were employed by him in teaching men of the Lord as well with all thoroughness (*ἐδίδασκεν ἀκριβῶς*, ver. 25), as with all boldness (*παῤῥησιάζεσθαι*, ver. 26). And yet, notwithstanding all these high qualities, he was very far from being a Christian teacher. He only knew, as St Luke writes, "the baptism of John," ver. 25, which evidently signifies (as Pfizer de Apoll. doctore Apostolico in Sylloge Diss. ii. p. 695, correctly explains it), totum ministerium Johannis doctrina constans de pœnitentia in remissionem peccatorum et aquæ baptismo quo ista doctrina obsignabatur. As, however, it is expressly affirmed that he carefully delivered the doctrine of

Jesus (τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ which reading, as it is best accredited, so it is to be preferred even on account of the startling nature of what it contains), it will not do to say with Bleek (ibid. S. 427) that he belonged to those who were not influenced by the testimony of St John the Baptist, to recognize in Jesus the Messiah who was to come. As Apollos urgently occupied himself with the doctrine of Jesus and its diffusion, so he must have received from St John's teaching, not merely the conviction that the people of Israel stood in need of a general, thorough purification and ultimate conversion, but he must also have recognized in Jesus a man who had received his vocation from God, which also he had in person carried out, in understanding and urging on in a way that no other man ever did, the work of the purification and conversion of Israel. Inasmuch as, according to the Gospel history, the work of St John, which was very far from ended when the Baptist was removed from the scene, was taken up and carried on by teaching and baptising (Matt. iv. 12, 13, 17 ; cf. iii. 2 ; John iii. 22—26) ; the thought, therefore, may have been very easily formed, that the whole of the doings and sufferings of Jesus was only to be looked upon as a preparation for the coming of the Messiah ; especially as, in so doing, that aspect of the Messiah and the Restorer was caught sight of, which had most clearly and most lucidly set forth the prophesying word to the people of Israel. Such a degree of faith might, with pure love and much zeal, embrace all the traits of the life of Jesus, and consider the promulgation of such a history among the synagogues who had fallen a prey to a dead formalism and self-complacency, as a highly important work of salvation, and as one which it was his duty to undertake. The pretended contradiction which Baur (see der Apostel Paulus, S. 187, 188) and Zeller (see Theol. Jahrb. 1849, 545, 546) think that they can discover in the accounts of the previous life of Apollos, may, according to my opinion, be considered as entirely removed by this way of viewing the matter.

But, as on the one hand this position is very different from the hatred and contempt which the Jews generally entertained for Jesus of Nazareth ; so on the other, it was very far removed from the faith of the Apostles and of the Church of Christ. The Apostles did not indeed conceal the fact that all the highly

glorious promises concerning the future fortunes of Israel were not realised by Jesus Christ; and that the external condition of Israel, and of the world, was in no wise changed by His manifestation. But, instead of being in the least induced by this fact to adopt an unnatural interpretation of these promises, or to abandon them altogether; they held fast the conviction that no other than Jesus would bring about and accomplish the complete realization and fulfilment of these types and prophecies, even because in Him, and in no one besides, there was laid the intrinsic mysterious foundation for the whole embodiment and outward realization of the kingdom of God in a perfect and everlasting manner. From this, too, it ought to become quite clear to us that, with all his gifts, with all his good will and zeal, Apollos must be looked upon as one who was in no wise connected with the Apostles or the Apostolical community. It is therefore nothing surprising that Priscilla and Aquila, when, after having had their curiosity roused by the zealous and energetic proceedings of the teacher from Alexandria, they had heard Apollos, recognized at once the imperfect extent of his knowledge; but, inasmuch as they felt convinced of the goodness and purity of his motives, they took him unto them, and instructed him more perfectly in the way of the Lord, while they clearly pointed out to him the course of the Divine proceedings through the low places unto the heights in the history of Jesus Christ.

It is on this occasion that we first find Priscilla and Aquila taking an active part; and we have need to ponder upon the circumstance the more, as evidently the first introduction of their names into our history had this very incident in view. In the first place, we cannot well fail to perceive that it is here first of all that we come to understand why, in the account of St Paul's departure from Corinth, it should have been deemed necessary to make mention of the fact, that he took these two persons with him (ver. 18), and also that he left them behind him in Ephesus (ver. 19). It was even because in Ephesus they instructed Apollos in the way of God, that their departure from Corinth, and their staying behind at Ephesus, appeared worthy of record. Here, however, we remember that, in ver. 18, the remarkable arrangement of Priscilla and Aquila occurred

(*Πρίσκιλλα καὶ Ἀκύλας*). Now, according to the oldest critical authorities, the same order of these names is also found in ver. 26, as also it occurs, moreover, in two places of the Pauline Epistles, viz., Rom. xvi. 3; 2 Tim. iv. 19. From this it may be inferred with certainty, that the precedence was given to the wife's name intentionally and consciously, and it is precisely the passage before us (in which we discover this married pair taking an active part in the spreading of the Gospel, and which, therefore, is the most characteristic of all these passages) that will be the first to throw any light upon the design of this collocation. When we are told that Priscilla and Aquila, when they heard him, "took him unto them, and carefully instructed him," we must suppose that, of this work, the greater part is to be ascribed to the woman. And it is even because teaching and instruction are here in question, that offence has been taken at this arrangement of the names; and in this way we can account for the inversion of this order of the names in this one passage which is found among some critical authorities. As, however, the teaching here meant was not public, but the instruction of a friend in private, the prominent part taken by the woman is no violation of the Apostle's rule (see 1 Cor. xiv. 34; 1 Tim. ii. 11). We have, therefore, to take it for granted that, in Priscilla, the knowledge of the truth had been carried to especial clearness and strength. Now, upon looking back to the first occasion on which this married couple are introduced in our history, we think we have now found a distinct proof of our assumption, that these two persons, when they first formed the acquaintance of St Paul, were not as yet believers, and that it was during their long and unbroken intercourse with that Apostle that they attained to a faith in Jesus. By their conversion to the faith in Jesus, a change seems to have been effected in the natural relation which is represented by the order in which, before their conversion, this wedded pair are introduced into our narrative (see xviii. 2); and this change is maintained on two occasions immediately after the first mention of them (see ver. 18 and ver. 26). Accordingly, as in Tabitha we recognized a feminine model of good works within the Jewish Christian Church, so we must see in Priscilla a memorable example of female enlightenment and knowledge in the

Church of the Gentile Christians (see Bleek Einleitung in den Brief an die Hebræer S. 422, 423; Neander Geschichte der Pflanzung u. s. w. i. 277).

Even alone and by itself, it is a highly significant circumstance that a woman was in a position to guide and instruct so highly gifted and so fervently zealous a teacher as Apollos, who had been educated in the high school of wisdom at Alexandria, and in conjunction with her husband, actually to bring this work to a successful issue. But just as the virtue of Tabitha was not brought forward as a proof of the power of the Gospel generally, but is mentioned in a perfectly different connection, so is it also with what we are here told of Priscilla and Aquila. Here for the first time we have a sensible representation of the way in which that direction and shapening of the Church, which begun to be formed by the testimony of St Paul, bore in itself the necessary energy for its own propagation. Aquila and Priscilla are placed before our eyes as a married couple who, by their intercourse with St Paul, from fugitive Jews, obliged to flee from Rome, where they had settled, had become believers in Jesus, and incorporated into the Church of Christ, in such wise that the weaker and less independent member of this wedded pair attained to so high a degree of clear enlightenment, that even an enlightened teacher must fain bow before the superior knowledge of a woman. And under the instructions of Priscilla and Aquila this enlightened teacher makes such rapid and considerable progress, that forthwith the brethren in Ephesus looked upon him as having been called expressly to carry on the great work of the Apostle in Achaia, and to supply in this portion of the Church the absence of St Paul himself. Moreover, immediately after he had received this instruction, Apollos independently formed the resolution of going to Achaia, so that we have good reason for assuming that the significance and importance of these plantations of the Gospel of Christ in the far west forthwith dawned upon his mind. At the same time we are incidentally allowed a glance into the intimate and lively connection which bound together the scattered and widely remote members of the Christian family at this time. Priscilla and Aquila in this instance evidently formed the connecting link between the few brethren who were to be found in Ephesus and the Achæan Churches,

and this connection was employed without delay for the purpose of introducing Apollos to the Churches of the west by commendatory letters—the first precedent of the subsequent "literæ formatæ" (ver. 27). How much of sound and correct judgment as to the personal capacity of Apollos, on the one hand, and of the wants of the Achæan community on the other, lay at the bottom of this proceeding, was fully testified by its results. For St Luke goes on to add forthwith, that the presence of Apollos in Achaia proved of great benefit to the believers there; and he gives as his reason for this assertion that, in public disputation with the Jews, he had with great power proved from the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ (ver. 28). Since, however, the Church in Corinth—which is here chiefly meant, as is presently intimated in xix. 1—consisted almost pre-eminently of Gentiles, it is not at first sight very obvious howthese discussions of Apollos with the Jews can have been of such essential service. On this point, however, we must realize to our minds how earnestly the Apostolical Churches—even those gathered from among the Gentiles—were referred to and instructed in the Old Testament Scriptures, and consequently in the abiding importance of the people of Israel, in carrying out the scheme of redemption. Of this fact we shall be strongly persuaded by a single glance at the use which, in his Epistles to the Corinthians and to the Romans, the Apostle makes of the Old Testament Scriptures. If, then, we retain a vivid consciousness of this connection between the believers of the Gentiles and the history and Scriptures of the Old Testament, the truth will become strikingly evident, that the unbelief and mocking of the Jews must have constituted a continued assault on the faith of the Gentiles. And in the city of Corinth, where the faith had had for its results so pervading an excitement and such division in the synagogue of the Jews, this attack was most likely very violent. On this supposition the powerful and effectual demonstration of Apollos in answer to the arguments of the Jews could not have failed to exercise a very salutary and strengthening influence on the believers in Achaia. Moreover, there cannot be a doubt that St Luke designedly mentions thus prominently a single instance only of all the labours of Apollos, but for all other matters connected with his exertions in Corinth, refers his readers to the general account

which he had previously given of the brilliant endowments of the teacher from Alexandria, in order that we might infer from it how beneficial for the Corinthian Church must have been the influence of a character so richly gifted with all the results of Grecian enlightenment, and with such natural quickness. And with all this the position which, according to the declarations of the Apostle Paul, Apollos had taken in the Corinthian Church, is clearly enough intimated in our narrative. For, from the several allusions to Apollos in St Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians, it clearly results that the labours of Apollos in that Church had been of great and considerable importance, so that, in comparison with them, none but those of St Paul can claim consideration. With good reason does Bleek observe (see Einleitung in den Brief an die Hebræer. S. 428) that the only way of accounting for the fact that a party in the Church at Corinth should have designated themselves by the name of Apollos (see 1 Cor. i. 12, iii. 4), is by supposing that he did not, like Timothy, Silas, and others, go to work merely as an helper of St Paul, but independently and on his own authority. By this supposition alone does the fact also become explicable, that St Paul never speaks of the help and assistance afforded to the Church by Silas, Timothy, and Titus, though he does of what Apollos had done for it (see 1 Cor. iii. 5, 22, iv. 6). Moreover, even in later times, Apollos is likewise mentioned as one of the first teachers of the Corinthian Church (see Clemens 1 ad Corinth. c. 47). That, moreover, Apollos exercised no extensive influence in enlarging the bounds of the Corinthian Church—a fact which St Paul intimates by the words, "I planted, Apollos watered" (see 1 Cor. iii. 5) is implied clearly enough in our brief report of him—a fact to which Bengel long ago has called attention. As regards the peculiar characteristic of Apollos, Neander has with justice remarked (see Geschichte d. Pflanzung u. s. w. i. 333) that, according to the description given of him in the passage before us, the proceedings of Apollos in Corinth were marked with a display of rhetorical and dialectical powers, and in so far he formed a contrast to the plainness and simplicity of St Paul, which he adopted nowhere to such a degree as he did at Corinth, while, at the same time, it forms the supplement to them. The circumstance also may perhaps claim consideration

here, that subsequently also, when Apollos had come into personal contact with St Paul, he still preserved his independence (see 1 Cor. xvi. 12).

It was, however, precisely because of these peculiar features and independence of his character, that St Luke has occupied himself at such great length with Apollos, as he has not thought any of St Paul's fellow workers and companions worthy of. For in such peculiar and independent energies, we have a historical pledge of the possibility of a vital propagation and enlargement of the great work of which the foundation was laid by St Paul; as, indeed, this possibility is made palpably evident, by the circumstance, that it was at the most important station of St Paul's mission, that Apollos commenced his evangelical labours, which were attended with great success, at the very time that St Paul was removed to a distance from this province of his Apostolical functions. Involuntarily are our thoughts carried forwards to the time when St Paul will be called away for ever from the scene of his earthly labours, and no one of equal energy and love will be at hand; consequently, the more boldly that the Christianity of the Gentiles relies on the strength of the Spirit and of liberty, the sooner will the anxiety arise in our minds as to the means by which this great and mighty building will be able to support and to maintain itself, in the midst of heathendom, without any countenance from the ordinances of the world, when the two main pillars of the word and presence of St Paul should no longer be its stay and support. Apollos, however, by his appearance at this time, meets this anxiety. Herewith we have to take into consideration also the further circumstance, that the qualification of Apollos for such evangelical labours, and for taking the place of the Apostle, and carrying on his work, was derived exclusively from that circle which had been created by the word and work of St Paul; yet, in such wise, however, as that all idea of St Paul's personal co-operation is entirely excluded; for Apollos did not even remain in Ephesus till St Paul should arrive; but before the arrival of that Apostle, he, on his own authority, and at the mere suggestion of the brethren in Ephesus, set forth on his journey to Achaia, and commenced his highly effectual labours in the Churches there. Hereby we have it again practically proved, from yet another quarter, that it is in

the scenes of St Paul's labours that we are to look for the propagation and the future of the Church. And in order that this might stand out in still clearer light, the entrance of Apollos, who had been instructed in the faith by Priscilla and Aquila, upon the field of the Apostle's labours, is expressly and prominently mentioned; while, on the other hand, not the slightest allusion is made to the subsequent labours of the original Apostles, even though they might easily have been mentioned, notwithstanding that they fell beyond the limits which had been fixed for our narrative.

§ 29. EPHESUS. ST PAUL'S STATION IN ASIATIC GREECE.

(Chap. xix.)

St Paul did not disappoint the expectation, which, as he passed through Ephesus on his return to Syria and Jerusalem, he had raised among those Jews of that city who were desirous of instruction. He returned to Ephesus to make it for a long period the fixed seat of his labours. But now Ephesus was properly the very heart of that region, in which, at an earlier period, the Apostle had received an express injunction from the Spirit not to exercise there his missionary functions (see xvi. 6). And we know nothing of any further intimation with regard to it, nor of any revocation of that prohibition. We must therefore assume that St Paul had attained to a perfectly certain conviction, that the cause which had formerly been the obstacle to his evangelical labours in that district, was entirely removed; and also that he had no doubt that now the city would afford a peculiarly appropriate field for permanent and extensive operations. As respects the first point, we shall probably not be very far wrong if we assume that, from the great things which had been accomplished in European Greece, the Apostle had come to see, that it was in the far off land of the islands of the sea that the true roots of the future of the Church rested, and for that reason the work of conversion, in that quarter, was so urgent that, when the fundamental relations between the Jewish and the Gentile Churches had been once settled in the great Synod of Jerusalem, it must be at once and first of all taken in hand.

By his thanksgiving celebration of the great festival at Jerusalem, and by giving his report to the Church of Antioch, he had now brought this work to a satisfactory, but preliminary close. Thereby that ground of hindrance had, by actual circumstances, been so completely removed, that he stood in need of no extraordinary communication with regard to it. Under this conviction, he might well go a step further, and recognize the great importance which might possibly attend his persevering operations in Ephesus. To the Western world he had carried the standard of evangelical truth, and had planted it on a lofty but distant eminence; but, withal, it was not his opinion that this Western Christendom, even though it was destined to form the future stay of the Church, should be left to develope itself independently. It was with him a profound necessity, and one which he had invariably followed ever since he entered on a wider sphere of labour, constantly to revert to the first starting-points of the Church; and also (as will presently be shown still more distinctly) he felt it to be a serious obligation to maintain inviolable, and, by every means possible, to strengthen the connection and communion between the widely distant and extremest points of the Church's existence. With this view, he had just now passed over the wide interval which separated Corinth and Jerusalem, Achaia and Syria, and had thus again vividly experienced the diversities and the manifold contrasts which lay between those two extremes. How then was it likely that the thought could have escaped him, that it was desirable to establish an intermediate station between them. And such a connecting link, such a bridge between the Christendom of the East and the Christendom of the West of Europe and of Asia, might, it seemed to him, be founded at Ephesus. And was not this again one of those grand and luminous conceptions which discern the requirements of remotest centuries as clearly as they seize at once the immediate present? As Asia-Minor forms the bridge between Asia and Europe, so especially at Ephesus, a great emporium and arsenal, did the barbarism and the Hellenestic elements intermingle (see Sickler's Handbuch d. alten Geographie S. 527, 528; Creuzer's Symbolik u. Mythologie. ii. 195).

And as in the report which Luke has given us of St Paul's labours in Ephesus we shall find this mixed character distinctly

revealing itself; it becomes clear that the Apostle, whose views naturally gave the tone to St Luke's impressions of the place, had allowed himself to be influenced by such considerations in his choice of Ephesus for the seat of his labours for a long period.

The first thing which occurred to the Apostle at Ephesus was his meeting with a number of disciples, who were of a peculiar and irregular character (ver. 1). From the circumstance that they are called disciples, we must at any rate conclude that they acknowledged a relation to Jesus the Master (see Matt. xxiii. 3). As it is stated that they were baptized with the baptism of John, some (as Wettstein, for instance, and others) have come to the conclusion that they had been instructed by Apollos. But in opposition to such a view, it has, with good reason, been urged by Kühnol, "that it is not probable that the conversion of Apollos to the faith of the Church would have remained without influence on them." A further question suggests itself: are we to look upon these disciples of John as Jews or as Gentiles? Viewing the faith simply in and by itself, it seems far more consistent to regard them as Jews.

For the mission of John was directed exclusively to Israel, and its purport also was of a character so decidedly and thoroughly Jewish, that it is not easy to perceive how his baptism could have found a welcome among the heathen. But, notwithstanding all this, I am yet of opinion that we cannot do otherwise than look upon these disciples as Gentiles. To this conclusion we are led simply by the circumstance that St Luke has not spoken of their Jewish descent, which, however, in the third division of his book, wherein the narrative is occupied chiefly with acceptability of the Gospel to the heathen, he usually does in the case of strangers whom he introduces (chap. xiii. 6, xvi. 1, xviii. 2, 24). Moreover, of Jews it is not easily conceivable that when they were asked by St Paul whether they had received the Holy Ghost since they had believed, they could have returned such an answer, as that they had not so much as heard whether there be an Holy Ghost or not. For, although it must be admitted that St Paul puts this question in such a sense, and with such an impressiveness, that it must have been immediately evident that he spoke of the Holy Spirit in a sense which His recorded operations in the Old Testament did not

satisfy, or, indeed, as He is spoken of in John chap. vii. 39, where, assuredly, those who fancy extraordinary gifts are intended are least justified; yet under this supposition, even the denial of ever having heard of the existence of the Holy Ghost, was utterly impossible in the case of Jews who were in any degree religious. For the Old Testament, in its historical as well as in its prophetical books, makes mention of the Holy Spirit so often and so emphatically, that not only His existence, but also the indispensable necessity of this co-operation for a communion with God, must have been well-known to every thoughtful Jew. No doubt St John did allude impressively enough to the necessity of the operation of the Holy Ghost (see Matt. iii. 11), and so we must in any case admit the fact of a certain degree of ignorance on the part of these disciples of the Baptist. However, if by descent they were not Israelites, in that case such ignorance is easily explicable; for to the heathen mind there is scarcely anything so strange as the name and nature of the Holy Spirit. We can, therefore, easily conceive it to be possible that, in the case of heathens who had received the baptism of John at such a distance from its original scene, the element of reference to the coming of the Holy Ghost, which at all events was contained in it, might easily have been allowed to fall into the background. We must consequently regard these disciples of John at Ephesus as Gentiles who, at that memorable crisis of time, were actuated by an earnest longing and inkling of something higher and better than the worship of the deified objects of nature around them, and had, by some means, heard of John and his baptism, and who, in it, as well as its allusion to Jesus, found what at least had furnished them with a preliminary satisfaction; and who, therefore, clung with true love to the tie which had first united them, when originally in a state of estrangement from God, to the Divine scheme of salvation. The discovery of these Gentiles thus peculiarly brought to him, and in this peculiar state, afforded St Paul a true criterion of the state of Ephesus. In fact, the whole occurrence which St Luke so positively and circumstantially details, has also in the historical point of view in which it is placed far more significance for the future course of development than would have been the case had these disciples of John been Jews.

No express motive is assigned for the first question which the

Apostle addressed to these disciples of John. Meyer is doubtless right in his conjecture that the absence of some practice or other in these disciples, specifically befitting Christian faith, astonished Paul. The inquiry of Paul does not, as some have supposed, refer to the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, but really and properly to the Spirit as the author of a new life. For as St Luke has absolutely given us no instance of any such gifts of the Spirit among the Gentiles converted by St Paul, it is totally inconceivable that he should, all at once, have put so prominently a question concerning such powers, as on that supposition he must have done. While, on the other hand, in the sense above pointed out, the question must appear to have been suggested by the very nature of the case. In what he says to them concerning the baptism of John (ver iv.), St Paul evidently had no wish to say anything new or special. He only strove to bring home to their minds what was and what was not contained therein. He insists, that is to say, strongly on the point which the disciples of John in Ephesus had overlooked, that the baptism of John referred to One coming after him, and consequently led the thoughts away from itself to Him that was to come, and that everything, therefore, must depend on the relation which mankind stood unto this higher personage. We now immediately perceive that it was not good will that was wanting in these disciples, but only the necessary instruction. For no sooner had they heard the Apostle pointing out Jesus as the person whom the baptism and preaching of John had foreshadowed, and in whom absolutely all the preparations of old had found their accomplishment, than they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus, (ver. 6).

We cannot acquit of prejudice the Protestant exegesis of former times in its explanation of this passage, for it took offence at the baptism of these disciples, not so much, however, as Olshausen and De Wette think, out of opposition to the Anabaptists and Memmonites as rather from opposition to the Romish Church. The Council of Trent, for instance (Sess. vii. de baptismo can. 1), maintained: Si quis dixerit baptismum Johannis eandem vim cum baptismo Christi habuisse, Anathema esto. In itself this is a declaration perfectly consistent with the Scriptures and incontrovertible. And indeed even Melancthon justly states and rightly defines the difference when he say : de discrimine baptismorum qui cer-

tissime senserunt ita judicarunt; Johannis baptismum simpliciter esse signum mortificationis; Christi baptismum esse vivificationis; quod ei addita sit gratiae praemissio seu condonatio peccatorum (see Loci Theologi p. 147 ed. Augusti). With which view, Justus Jonas also, (see Bengel on ver. 5) agrees. But since this assertion of the Romish theologians stands manifestly in connection with this distinction between the sacraments of the new and the old law as they speak (Sess. 7 de sacramentis can. 2), and this again with their pernicious doctrine of an opus operatum (comp. Munscher's Lehrb. der Dogmengesch. herausgeb. Colln. ii. 200), the Protestant theologians have looked more to this connection than to the thing itself (comp. Chemnitz. Examen. Concil Trident p. 218), and consequently, in their opposition to the idea of an opus operatum, have exerted themselves to the utmost to refute the opinion of a diversity between the Old Testament economy and that of the new, in which attempt they were assisted by a want of historical exegesis on the point—and in this way consequently there has arisen a wide-spread opinion that the baptism of John did not differ essentially, but only in its accidents, from that of Christ (see Pfizer. de Apolline doctore Apostolico, in Sillog dissertat. ii. 695). Naturally, while pursuing this course, they came into collision with the narrative we are now considering. From this difficulty they endeavoured, in various ways, to extricate themselves; Chemnitz, even, having already made a beginning (see ibid. p. 235). A very ordinary expedient was it that they had recourse to, maintaining that the clause, ver. 5, *ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἐβαπτίσθησαν* did not form a part of St Luke's narrative, but was a continuation of the speech of St Paul. This view of the passage has indeed a kind of support in the antithesis between *Ἰωάννης μὲν ἐβάπτισεν* and *ἀκούσαντες δὲ* by which Calov (for example), who here suddenly appeals to the Codices, chiefly defends it. But what Meyer remarks is perfectly just, that the antithesis to *μὲν* (a reading, moreover, which is rightly preferred by Tischendorf as the more difficult,) can be easily supplied from the context. As for the objection which is here frequently advanced by the oldest theologians, that if in this case the baptism of John was really completed and perfected by the baptism of Christ, the same necessity would also have laid upon the disciples of Christ; it is, in my opinion, sufficient to answer what has been already

observed (vol. i. 63, 64), with regard to the peculiar character of the intercourse with Jesus which the original disciples enjoyed.

Now, if after their baptism the disciples of John received the Holy Ghost by the imposition of the hands of St Paul, and not only spoke with tongues, but even prophesied, this incident resembles generally what took place in Samaria (vid viii. 17). In the case of that event we found that what it especially aimed at was the impressing upon the mind the significance and necessity of the Apostolic office for the foundation and first beginnings of the Church. In that instance, the event took place at a crisis of the history of the Church, when the danger was by no means remote that the Apostolic office would not be duly estimated (comp. i. 176). It would then be a question whether a similar state of things existed here. In fact, as far as my opinion goes, such was really the case. Grotius ad loc. says very justly : Baptizati erant ab alio christiano, sed Deus ad commendandum manus Apostolicum non ante iis spiritus sui dona communicare voluit quam Apostolica manus eos tetigisset. Only, it is not quite obvious here (what, however, on that occasion was clearly manifested), what special ground existed for an extraordinary ratification of the Apostle's plenitude of power. These disciples of John had been initiated by their first baptism in the scheme of the history of salvation ; and they must accordingly have looked for extraordinary signs to usher in the dawn of that new era for which they ardently hoped. He who had declared to them the coming of Him who had fulfilled all things, must establish before them his authority by a method consistent with the nature of that heavenly kingdom of which they had heard. But it was not alone the personal requirements of these disciples of John that were to be satisfied by the extraordinary effects of the imposition of the Apostle's hands, but also a need which affected the whole of the universal Church. It was, namely, a matter of permanent importance that St Paul should be generally recognised and established as an Apostle fully accredited and possessing independent powers. These disciples of St John were heathens who, in a peculiar manner, had been prepared for the knowledge of salvation. They were the representatives of the Gentile world, in so far as, by their intercourse with the people of Israel, they had become desirous to receive the Gospel tidings. And inasmuch as it was through the

effect of the imposition of the hands of the Apostle that they experience the efficacy of their baptism, St Paul was, thereby, accredited as the Apostle of such Gentiles as are near to the kingdom of God, so that he is the Apostle of those near and those far off; and to his Apostolical authority the whole Church of the Gentiles is apparently assigned. From the fact that St Luke draws our marked attention to the number of these disciples being twelve (ver. 47), it is evident that his object was to insist upon the importance of this number. That is to say, by this number this body of disciples are placed in a certain association with the twelve tribes of Israel; and we must see in it the signature of the new life which has been created in them. While, in the power of the Holy Ghost, they speak with tongues (which we have here to understand in the same sense as in x. 46), and prophesied, they are placed in the very position which had been promised to Israel as a state of perfection (see ii. 17). Consequently, by the word of the Apostle and the imposition of his hands, these disciples are set forth as a new Israel, and in both respects hath been accomplished what John intimated: "God is able out of these stones to raise up children to Abraham" (Matt. iii. 9). The children of Abraham, after the flesh, had shown themselves rebellious against the faith of Abraham, and had abused the baptism received from John unto a fresh occasion of hardening their hearts. The Gentiles had, on the contrary, in great numbers, opened their hearts to the faith of Abraham, and these twelve stand forth as those in whom the oldest system of Divine preparation which was consummated in the baptism of John had obtained its proper end; and who, therefore, were to occupy the place of that Israel which had fallen from its proper and true character. Thus the whole proceeding in the case of these twelve disciples appears to be a perfectly justifiable and intelligible element in that course of development which our history takes. And as to those parallel instances which the modern school of criticism has brought forward from what is elsewhere narrated of Peter (see Schneckenburger Zweck der Apostlegesch p. 50—57; Baur der Apostel Paulus p. 187, 188; Zeller ibid. p. 546), we, in this case, cannot refer them to the arbitrary creation of the author, but look upon them as grounded in the objectivity of the Divine order; and consequently, their correspondence with the events in

Samaria and Cæsarea, of which these critics avail themselves in order to cast suspicion upon the present narrative, in our view, does but contribute to accredit and to confirm it.

With this conversion of the twelve disciples of John stands out in sharp contrast all that we afterwards learn of the Apostle's doings in the synagogue. St Paul was, indeed, requested by the Jews themselves of Ephesus to abide longer with them—a thing which did not often happen to him. Well might he have turned with feelings of great hope and ardent longing towards this Jewish synagogue. We must, therefore, regard it as a special providence that he was first brought into contact with these twelve disciples of John. This incident must have given him very significant hints. These Gentiles, twelve in number, and speaking with tongues and prophesying, must naturally have suggested to his mind a weighty counterpoise to any hope which he might have cherished of the conversion of his brethren after the flesh in Ephesus. It was in this way pointed out to him that the seat of Israel was for a time to be occupied by the Gentiles who represent the spiritual seed of Abraham. If then, on the one hand, he himself was, by this event, plunged once more into the bitter feelings of his earlier experience, and it became impossible for him to follow the path of his calling except by giving his flesh to be wounded by the thorn (see 2 Cor. xii. 7), yet, on the other hand, by the conversion of these twelve disciples of John, the promise was confirmed to him anew, that the seat of the unbelieving and stiff-necked Israel should not remain vacant, but that the Gentiles would be called for a time to occupy their place; and that he himself had received the charge to accomplish with his own hands this great work of calling and establishing the Gentiles in the room of Israel, and in this form there was opened to him anew a prospect of the ultimate redemption of Israel. Accordingly, notwithstanding the friendly invitation on the part of the Jews, St Paul cannot here enter upon his office without a conscious feeling of the Divine destiny which was impending over Israel, and of his own co-operation in bringing it about. And yet, in spite of this painful conviction, he had enough both of strength and hopefulness to undertake the task, and with perfect resignation to comply with the invitation of the Jews. If, then, we are now informed that St Paul taught and laboured for the space of three

months in the synagogue, this surprising length of time is explained by the friendly character of his first intercourse with the Ephesian Jews, and from the mildness of tone which he assumed in his expositions, which is intimated in the words διαλεγόμενος καὶ πείθων τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ. Notwithstanding all, the final result is yet no other than that which had followed the endeavours and labours of St Paul in every synagogue with the solitary exception of Berea. The greater part hardened their hearts, and were indisposed to the faith. True, it is said only of "divers" that their hearts were hardened, and that they were given over to unbelief; but since these spoke evil of "that way" which the chosen of Israel, and the believing Gentiles had adopted and entered upon, while most of the Jews in their unbelief were obliged to remain within that range in which God had concluded and confined them (comp. Hosea ii. 6; Rom. xi. 32; Gal. iii. 32), and since they did not cease to blaspheme it in the presence of the multitude, who, as is implied by their silence, were not opposed to this blasphemy, St Paul considered that the time for his departure had arrived. With no solemn address, but not the less impressively, does he take his leave of them, since he separates the disciples (who had hitherto made the synagogue their place of meeting) from that seat of unbelief and blasphemy as from an unclean and impure spot (ver. 8).

In opposition to the prevailing opinion, both of ancient and modern times, that the school of Tyrannus in Ephesus was a rhetorical school, Meyer, again, has defended the hypothesis of Hammond, that Tyrannus was a Jew, that the school was one of the so-called בית מדרש. And De Wette has been so far influenced thereby, that he avers that it is impossible to controvert this opinion. This question is of importance as gravely effecting the whole view taken of the labours of St Paul at Ephesus. If Tyrannus were indeed a Jew, and his school a Jewish seat of education, then the entire work of conversion wrought in Ephesus would have been dependent upon the Jewish synagogue, and we must regard it in a similar light to that of Berea; and we ought accordingly to have laid greater weight than we have done upon that first friendly reception of St Paul by the Jews. But if, on the contrary, Tyrannus was (as the general impression has it), a Gentile rhetorician, the course of proceeding was the same

here as everywhere else. Let us first examine the several particulars; the expression σχολή, as the arguments of Wetstein show, was used for the places of scientific education among the Greeks, as indeed the very name Tyrannus (as Wetstein also observes) is of frequent occurrence among the Greeks. Nay, in Suidas, mention is made of one Tyrannus, a rhetorician, whom Grotius, in consequence, maintains to have been the same person as the one here spoken of. Further, if, by the name of Tyrannus, we ought to understand a Jew to be meant, then, according to what we have observed in (ver. 1) we should expect some further intimation thereof. But, on the contrary, the designation τυράννου τινός recalls to our minds the words οἰκίαν τινός ὀνόματ' Ἰούστου xviii. 7. In any case we may discern in these particulars considerable support for the general acceptation of the passage; but the context throughout is still more decidedly in favour of it. It is involved in the very nature of the case, that St Paul would not have left the synagogue (and what is more, have taken all his disciples with him) until he had thoroughly convinced himself that the great majority of the Jews, who met together there, had become incapable of receiving his testimony. This is clearly enough indicated by the mention of the multitude who stood silently by, while they heard the Gospel blasphemed. But what consistency was it to depart from the synagogue, on account of the general prevalence of unbelief in it, and to characterize it as an unclean place for the disciples to frequent, and thereupon to pass at once into a rabbinical school! Such a course is not consistent with the character we have formed of St Paul; rather, we should believe of him, that, after things had reached this climax with the Jews, he went boldly and publicly over to the Gentiles (see xiii. 46, 47; xviii. 6, 7). What, therefore, is there to compel us to abandon this view, so strongly enforced as it is by the details, as well as by the whole context of the case? Meyer, indeed, lays great weight upon the fact that, in this new scene of his teaching, Jews also, according to ver. 10, were among his hearers. As if Aquila and Priscilla, nay, Crispus even, the leader of the synagogue, had not followed Paul into the house of the Gentile, Justus, at Corinth (xviii. 7, 8). The circumstance that St Luke names the Jews first (ver. 10), ought not to lead us to conclude

that the labours of St Paul were especially directed to his countrymen. The position in which they are placed has naturally the same ground and signification with St Luke as with St Paul; namely, the expression of the prerogative of Israel in the preaching of the Gospel. That, moreover, even here also, in Ephesus, the Gentiles claim by far a preponderating share of the labours of St Paul, and, with regard to the result, have here, as almost everywhere else, the claim to exclusive consideration, is both shown by the narrative itself, and accords well with what we know from other sources concerning the character of the church in this region.

Since St Luke remarks that the instruction which was commenced by St Paul in the school of Tyrannus was continued for the space of two years (ver. 10), the sojourn of the Apostle in this locality must, at least, have extended to two years and a quarter. Thus was Ephesus placed on a par with Corinth, since, in the latter city, he had laboured most successfully for the space of a year and a half. It was during the period of his stay at Ephesus that St Paul wrote to the Church at Corinth. "I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost, for a great and effectual door is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries." (see 1 Cor. xvi. 8, 9). From the account given by St Luke in this place, we see that his report is to be so understood that as Ephesus was the central point for the whole of Asia, in the narrow sense of that term, so the evangelical labours of the Apostle in this city were extended unto the whole population of Asia (see Acts xix. 10). It was in this way, moreover, that Ephesus became the ecclesiastical centre for the entire region, as indeed it remained for a very long period. As in the upper region of the remoter parts of Asia Minor, four churches were flourishing; as four had also been founded in European Greece; so, at a later period in Asiatic Greece, or in Asia, taken in the narrower sense of the term, we also meet with four churches of St Paul's founding: viz., Ephesus, Colosse, Laodicea, and Hierapolis (Col. iv. 15, 16; Col. iv. 13). It is, indeed, well known that the Church at Colosse was not founded immediately by St Paul, but by Epaphras, a disciple of St Paul (Col. i. 7), who had probably carried to his paternal city the tidings of the Gospel from Ephesus, where he had heard the Apostle (iv. 12; see Bähr Einleitung

Zum Briefe an die Koloss S. 5). And, accordingly, in the same way as Corinth formed a centre for the churches of Achaia (see 2 Cor. i. 1) so did Ephesus among the Asiatic Churches; and in this fact we derive a firm support, for the view of Harless on the nature and tendency of the Epistle to the Ephesians, (see his comment. p. lv. 56). I am, that is to say, of opinion that even also after Tischendorf's remarks on the marginal reading in Codex B. Ephes. i. 1; the defence of the reading ἐν Ἐφέσῳ by Harless remains unshaken. Accordingly, just as the position of Ephesus in Asia corresponds with that of Corinth in Achaia, so there exists the same analogy between the second energetic letter of the Apostles to the Corinthians, and the energetic epistle to the Ephesians. If, in truth, the former contains more of individual matters, while the latter is more didactic, this may have arisen from the difference of the Apostle's position relatively to the European Churches, on the one hand, and to the Asiatic on the other. In any case the Corinthian Church is without a parallel. By its spirituality and activity, by the manifold variety of its gifts and its faults, it was, as it were, especially adapted to set in motion and action the immeasurable profundity and plenitude of Christ's wonder-working power in His Apostle, St Paul.

This difference, however apart, it must appear perfectly appropriate to the position which Ephesus held relatively to the neighbouring communities, whom the Epistles were also destined to reach, that the Apostle should dilate upon the chief points of the evangelical confession, so fully and so comprehensively, that his Epistle should convey, though in a shorter form, almost the very same instruction as that which he addressed to the Romans, does in a grander style. That this pre-eminent position over the whole region of Asia, which the Church of Ephesus derived from its having been so long the residence of the Apostle, still remained to it even at a later period, we also see from the fact, that Timothy, who subsequently was appointed by St Paul to overlook these communities, and to protect them from those erroneous teachers who had made their appearance in Asia, took up his residence in that city (1 Tim. i. 3); and that St John gives to the Church at Ephesus the first place among the seven Churches of Asia Minor (Rev. i. 11; ii. 1), and that Ignatius prominently

mentions this Church, on account of the sacred intercourse it had enjoyed with the Apostle St Paul (see Ign. ad Ephes. c. xiii.).

While St Luke has expressed himself very briefly on the far richer results which followed from St Paul's residence at Corinth, and gives us so very few particulars concerning it, that, for instance, he says nothing of the miracles which nevertheless did take place there (2 Cor. xii. 12), he does, however, communicate to us many details connected with this place, and especially does he make pointed mention of the extraordinary miracles which were there wrought. From this it would likewise appear that the miraculous operations of the Apostle in Ephesus were of a far more remarkable character than those elsewhere performed by him; also, that by the words, δυνάμεις οὐ τυχοῦσας, St Luke wished from the very first to draw our attention to the fact, that the difference in his two reports is to be regarded as corresponding to the difference of the circumstances. At the same time, however, the possibility still existed that St Luke might have passed over in total silence the remarkable miracles performed by St Paul in Ephesus; just as he has also omitted to report so many others. Two questions consequently force themselves upon our consideration: Why were such wonderful miracles effected by the Apostle's hand at Ephesus, when we have no account of similar ones being wrought by him in other quarters? And on what ground did St Luke think it necessary to give us a full account of the former, while he has regularly omitted to notice so many others, and especially those which were elsewhere performed by the same Apostle? All that St Luke himself tells us concerning Ephesus, together with what we also know of this city from other sources, will, first of all, assist us to answer the former question; and at the same time, also, will furnish us with the necessary means for deciding the latter. From what is narrated in verses 13 and 19 we see that Ephesus was a place where the practice of magic and theurgy peculiarly flourished;—a fact which, upon a closer examination of the paragraph, will be also confirmed from other sources. Just as Moses, to enable him to resist the magicians and sorcerers of Egypt, together with the armour of God, the word of Jehovah, was also endowed with the power of working signs and wonders, that so he might prove himself to be indeed the servant of Jehovah the God of gods, so

there existed a similar necessity in the present case. That, mainly and pre-eminently, the operation of the word of God on the conscience was the object to be attained, is sufficiently shewn by the narrative of the humble-minded and docile disciples of John, on the one hand, and by that of the stiff-necked and perverse Jews, on the other. Let us now suppose that, by the whole behaviour and labours of the Apostle, especially by his treatment of the disciple of John and the Jews, the purity and holiness of the Gospel testimony had been incontrovertibly established and set forth, so that every one who did not willingly blind and deceive himself, must have felt in his conscience that whosoever wished to share in the fellowship of that testimony must first of all renounce all impure and unrighteous desires; if we take it for granted that this impression had already been made upon many, and had produced also its salutary effects, can we not easily conceive it possible that a population, thus impressed and sanctified, might, from its Asiatic and Ephesian peculiarities, have been readily disposed to entertain the idea that the holy and Divine might of Jesus Christ, which worked by the words and hands of St Paul, might, nay must, exercise its power over the evils of the body, in the same way as that which, in the popular belief, was ascribed to the demons. And on the ground taken by the history of redemption, what is there to startle us in the assumption that the Lord of grace and of miracles should, with all His infinite omnipotence, have condescended to comply with such a desire and expectation on the part of these poor ignorant heathens, fast tied as they were with the bonds of superstition, and given over to a belief in the occult powers of nature?

And if such really did take place, the only reason St Luke could have had for omitting to notice them would be that these miracles had served none but temporary and local ends, and had furnished no important element to the development of the Church. And, in truth, from the total silence which Neander has observed with regard to the miracles wrought at Ephesus, it would certainly appear, that in his opinion they had not contributed in any way to that development. But in such a matter we cannot allow the opinion of an individual to be taken as an infallible standard; nothing but the comprehensive and careful examina-

tion of the whole subject can afford us a sure guide. Now it is, no doubt, true that the world, to which the view of the history of salvation is directed, does not consist of mere Ephesians, but still less does it consist of mere critics and sceptics; but it has its ground in human nature, and as far as regards the opposite elements which here come under consideration, the Ephesians are just as little below the dignity of human nature as the critics and sceptics, who give themselves the air of being exalted above it. It is, moreover, quite true, and the very threads of our holy narrative lead us directly to the perception, that the stream of the history of redemption does not pre-eminently flow deepest and strongest where signs and wonders most attract our eyes and senses; but there, more especially where, to the outward eye, its course is stillest and least discernible; not in Jerusalem, that scene of the first signs and wonders, did the future of the Church blossom and ripen; not in Samaria, where Simon Magus, though worshipped as the great power of God, was constrained to humble himself before the Apostle of Jesus Christ; nor yet in Cæsarea, whither we are attracted by a whole series of miraculous events; but in Antioch, in Corinth, and finally in Rome—although there is not the slightest record in our sacred narrative of any miracle having been performed in those cities. But does it therefore follow from this fact that signs and wonders have no signification for us, that the more a man refrains from a recognition and from according any importance to them, the more infallibly will he be able to apprehend both the present aspect, and also the later development of the history? As it appears to me, St Luke, after giving us the practical expositions above indicated of his own opinions, was willing to leave every theologian perfectly free and unfettered in his appreciation of the working of the Spirit; and we may, therefore, regard the sacred historian with the greater confidence when he brings us once more into the domain of external matters. Cannot then the wonderful events which took place at Ephesus possess a permanent value, unless we are at liberty to suppose that they were repeated in every spot and at every hour? The fact that, and the reason why, such exhibitions of miraculous powers did not necessarily take place at all time and in every place, in order to awaken and to confirm the faith of men, is

shewn by the history itself of the Apostles. But it is very far from being made out thereby that it was not an imperative need everywhere, and at all times, for the awakening and confirmation of our faith, that we should know that such miracles had at one time been wrought in the Church. On the contrary, such a necessity does unquestionably exist. For if man who, through the will of the flesh, has subjected himself, and still continues to subject himself to the powers of nature, is to be completely and entirely emancipated from the oppressive and pernicious burden of these forces of nature (and least of all can those who from a pretended zeal for the spirit, are suspicious of the truth of miracles, be adverse to such an emancipation); it is an imperative necessity that he believe in a Divine omnipotence, which has historically displayed and demonstrated its supremacy and dominion over all the whole range of nature's laws, in a way that cannot be contested. For nothing but such a conviction of such a historical manifestation of God's miraculous power can place man in communion with this Divine omnipotence, and is able to exalt him far above the influence of the powers of nature which are continually weighing him down to the earth. And as St Luke discerned this universal need of humanity, and also felt that, inasmuch as in that path of development which the Church was next to enter upon, fewer signs and wonders were about to take place, the greater was the necessity that the human race should, in faith and conscience, retain the memory of a past age of miracles, he consequently considered it incumbent on him to dwell upon the miraculous events which happened at Ephesus.

These remarks, however, are only of a general nature; the question still remains to be determined, do they really admit of being applied to the case actually before us? Now, in reference to this point we have to listen to very hard words indeed from Baur (see der Apostel Paulus p. 188), and especially from Zeller (see ibid. p. 5. 47). Baur asserts, without farther preface, that it is a purely mythical trait; that just as, in chap. v. 14, the shadow of St Peter healed the sick folk it fell upon, so here the sweat- and body-clothes of St Paul exhibited an inherent miraculous power similar to that which a later age ascribed to relics. Zeller, for his part, pronounces this passage, simply on account of its miraculous character, to be the most incredible of all that the

New Testament has handed down, and he maintains that, even on the basis of a belief in miracles, such a coarse and magical representation of the healing power of the Apostles as is here presented, is altogether too repugnant for belief; and, in conclusion, he asserts that he does not know what legends of relics we need be ashamed to give credit to if such things as are here narrated are to demand our belief. Let us not, however, be prevented by this demurrer from entering at least upon a full examination of the matter. In the first place, it is necessary to determine whether, with Meyer, we ought to lay the chief stress on the power of the Apostle's will, which may have communicated this healing virtue to the clothes; or with De Wette, on the faith of those who sought to be cured, and with full reliance on their efficacy, made use of these means. There can be no doubt that, in any case, we must regard faith as the first and chief point; for, by the passive construction of verse 12, it is unquestionably intimated that all active intervention on St Paul's part was withheld. We must, therefore, understand the connection between vv. 11 and 12 in the following manner: The extraordinary miracles which Paul performed with his own hands, and, consequently, with the independent exercise of his own will, had awakened such confidence in him that, in full faith in the wonderful energy which proceeded from him, men laid on their sick friends those objects which they knew had been in contact with his body. When, in this way, we give to the particle ὥστε its usual consecutive force, we are referred to faith on the part of those seeking to be healed as the determining principle, and, at the same time, to the source of that faith. This view is also supported by the circumstance that, in other analogous cases recorded in the history of the New Testament, exactly the same phraseology is employed (comp. Matt. ix. 21, 22; Acts v. 13—15). The first question naturally which will be asked is, what it was that induced the people of Ephesus to regard even articles of clothing, and precisely those articles which we have mentioned, as endowed with a miraculous virtue. Even in those instances which possess an analogy with the one before us, we cannot trace the operation of mere arbitrary fancy. In the case of the woman with the issue of blood, it was modesty that led her to touch the garment of Christ, while she chose the hem in pre-

ference to any other part, on account of the especial sanctity which was ascribed to it (comp. Numb. xv. 38; Matt. xxiii. 5). The Jews, in Jerusalem, placed their sick in such a position, that the shadow of Peter might pass over them, because they could not be brought into closer contact with him. The overshadowing, however, had in the history and prophecy of the Old Testament received the signification of a healing power. For what else was the cloud of Jehovah in the wilderness than a Divine shelter and shadow from the heat (see Ps. cv. 39)? And is it not the realisation of the covert and the refuge afforded by the tabernacle, which Isaiah speaks of as to be looked for in the time of the quickening of Israel (Isa. iv. 6)? Now, we know from the Apostle's own mouth, that in Ephesus he had made the most extraordinay efforts to supply by his own hand the necessities, not only of himself, but also of his companions and assistants. Here, therefore, if anywhere, the claim which his manual labours made upon him must be supposed to have been of no common character (see xx. 31, 34). And hence it arose, that when from the vast population of Ephesus, to which we must also add a great number from the entire region of Asia, (whither, as we see from (ver. 10), the Apostle's exertions in preaching had also reached,) the number of those who were brought to be healed was very great, it would be impossible for many to attain to a personal contact with the Apostle. In such a case, where so many unfortunate sufferers had been brought in faith, and who could not without something like harshness, be sent back again with their maladies uncured, the wish would obviously arise to find some equivalent for this personal contact with the Apostle.

Now, of all that these people knew of the Apostle, nothing scarcely was more likely to make a stronger impression on their minds, than the fact of his working with his own hands to supply his own wants and those of his companions. He, who by his word and by his holy conversation, in boundless love and unwearying patience and compassion, had brought light to the benighted soul, and had filled the broken heart with godly joy and bliss—who had led back into the way of eternal life the unrighteous sinners who had gone astray and were lost—who carried in his heart not only all those who in that neighbourhood had committed themselves to the guidance of his word and teaching,

but at the sametime, also, all those who, in the remotest distance (see 2 Cor. xi. 28, 29), and in every place, called upon the Lord their God (1 Cor. i. 2). This holy messenger, sent of Jesus Christ unto the whole heathen world, had nevertheless scorned to accept from the Church the least reward of what may most truly be called his unparalleled love, anxiety, and toil; and, instead of receiving from them what, however, he might justly have claimed by every human and Divine right, the maintenance without charge of himself and his fellow-labourers, he had betaken himself to the workshop, girded himself, and in hard toil poured out his sweat. The thought is both natural and obvious, that in these working garments, in this pouring out of his sweat, the people saw and reverenced the plenitude of infinite love and power which had shone forth in the Apostle Paul. Full of such reverence, and with a faithful reliance on that revelation of Divine love and power which had been brought to light by the Apostle, they eagerly sought for these *σουδαρία*, the cloths moistened with costly sweat from the body of the Apostle. The *σιμικίνθια*, which they also begged from St Paul, are not (as some Greek scholiasts and commentators, see Wolf ad. h. l., explained the Latin word semi-cincta) pocket-cloths or handkerchiefs; but, according to the plain etymology, "tegumenta quibus anteriorem corporis partem opifices cingere solent," as Kühnöl; or, more accurately, tegumentum quod partem hominis anteriorem a cingulo et lumbis usque ad pedes præcingat; cujus modi fere mechanici, ut pistores, fabri, ferrarii uti consueverunt, as Wolf explains it. This also agrees with the gloss of Suidas: *σιμικίνθιον—φακεώλια* (according to Grotius, fasciolæ) *ζωνάρια*. vid. Wettstein ad. h. l.) Consequently, besides the handkerchiefs men also begged for the aprons which had come in contact with, and had protected the Apostle's body, while he stood and laboured at his calling of tentmaker.

We can, then, perfectly understand the sentiments which led those who were desirous to be healed of their diseases to make choice of these means. Who now will venture to assert, that it is impossible that this faith in the miraculous power of the sudaria and aprons of St Paul could be of a pure and moral nature. Baur does, it is true, allude here to the belief in relics, and Zeller to legends; but the essential point in the belief in

relics is not concerned with the external thing absolutely, but these external things, separated from the personal grounds; and the legends, are not merely accounts of miraculous facts, in and by themselves, but such accounts, apart from any traceable connection with well accredited history. The legend, and the worship founded on the legend, of the holy shirt of Treves, is to be rejected for this very reason that the shirt is not, as was in the case with the woman with the issue of blood in the Gospel, regarded in its known connection with the person of Jesus Christ, but merely as a holy thing in and by itself; and also, because the legend stands in palpable contradiction to the truth of history. In the present case, on the contrary, the account is clearly and perceptibly in harmony with the general history of the early Church. And these wonder-working cloths and aprons (as from the whole account we have every right to assume, and as we are, besides, plainly led to conclude from the straightforward mention of these objects), are viewed purely in their known and immediate connection with the revered person of the Apostle, and it was in such a light that they were sought for and employed. Now, it is not easily conceivable, that the employment of such objects belonging to St Paul could have taken place (for, as Zeller justly observes, it must have been often repeated), without the Apostle's knowledge and consent. And we now come to a point, which Meyer has brought prominently forward, the necessity, viz., to assume, on the part of the Apostle, the intention and the will to impart to these linen articles the Divine power of healing, with a view to the very object for which they were sought. Only we must not omit to notice the fact, that, according to the narrative, the whole proceeding took its rise from those who sought to be healed, and not from St Paul. It is easy, however, to conceive that by the Apostle's compliance with the faithful desires of these afflicted sufferers, any impure profanation of such means by a carnal apprehension of them was the more carefully guarded against and prevented.

On this account, also, it is clear that a great injustice has been done to our book in regarding with distrust its narrative of these miracles which were wrought by the influence of St Paul; since the two accounts which follow are admirably suited to show that, while occupied with these marvels, we are not treading on the domain of

the merely magical. True it is that the first of these presupposes a belief in the power of dæmons and in their taking possession of man. But here our critics seemed disposed, in reference to these supernatural matters, to take the same ground as the Scriptures and the Church. Taking this supposition for granted, we find in the account given of the seven Jewish exorcists (ver. 13—17), a strong antidote to any idea of the intervention of magic. These seven exorcists, sons of Sceva, who belonged to the family of the High Priest (see Grotius ad. Matt. 2—4), are placed in contrast to the twelve Gentile disciples of the Baptist. These Jews, who belonged to the priestly race, denied both their family and their people. For exorcism, as practised among the Jews, to judge from the plain example of Eleazer, which is reported by Josephus (Antiq. viii. 2—5), notwithstanding its pretended derivation from the wisdom of Solomon, possessed a thoroughly heathen and and magical character. Consequently, while these heathens had, at this epoch, joined themselves to that in which, as in a point, the whole preparatory character of the past of Israel issues; these Jews had, at the same time, fallen back again into the Pagan association with nature; and accordingly, the impression which the preaching of Jesus Christ makes on each is totally different. While the Gentile disciples of John, through the preaching of St Paul, come to the knowledge of the Saviour, and are consequently endowed with the gift of tongues and of prophecy; these exorcists of the High Priest's family employ the name of Jesus Christ as a magical formula, and were consequently punished with shame and bloody stripes. By their number those heathens were pointed out as the true scions of the stock of Israel; while those Jews, by their number, are set forth as the seven rejected nations of Canaan (see xiii. 19). The sum, however, of the whole narrative is this; they were obliged to expiate their misuse of that most holy name by public shame and disgrace. That they employed that name is an evidence that they had often seen St Paul perform miracles by calling on the name of Jesus (comp. iii. 6; ix. 34)—a fact which serves to confirm our view of the 11th verse. But even after such experience of its power, these Jews were very far from recognising a Divine energy and a holy revelation of the God of Israel in this name; although, after such an experience, they were in a

far better position than the Gentiles to understand it. On the contrary, they looked upon the holy and saving name of Jesus Christ in no other light than that of a peculiarly efficient and powerful charm, and in this view sought to appropriate the use of it as they had previously done with certain formulæ derived from Solomon, and with other charms. For, since they speak of the name of Jesus as the name of Him whom Paul preached (ver. 13); they thereby clearly intimated that they neither had nor wished to have any inward relation to this name. And the answer which the evil spirit returns them "Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye?" likewise makes it clear that they were powerless and became the prey of that evil spirit whom they attempted to exorcise, for this very reason that they were not endowed with the power which belongs to faith in Jesus Christ, and which Paul had made his own. When, therefore, this punishment of the Jewish sorcerers was spread abroad, and fear had come upon all the Greeks and Jews in Ephesus, and caused the name of the Lord Jesus Christ to be honoured (ver. 17), we see that it even fulfilled the purpose for which it was destined. For the universal fear clearly took its rise from the fact, that by this event it had been set forth (in a way that could not be mistaken), that in every case the communion with the name of Jesus, which a man enters into, must have a foundation corresponding to the holiness and sanctity of the name. In this way it was rendered a matter of certainty that Jesus was not simply a new deity added to the many others, nor any merely powerful theurgic name which man could employ as a charm. Those wounded and naked exorcists were living witnesses to all minds, whether Jews or Gentiles, that the Holy One of God had been manifested among them. Consequently, the glory of St Paul, which was here in no slight degree liable to be cherished in a purely external sense, sunk completely before the glory of Jesus Christ,[1] and a similar impression to that made by the visitation upon Ananias and Sapphira, was left on all minds (see v. 11), as indeed the foundation of what had occurred was in both cases essentially the

[1] Olshausen's remark: "this proceeding served, as one would expect, greatly to raise the reputation of St Paul," is not founded on anything in the text, but is purely his own.

same, and only took a different form according as it was in the community or out of it that the holiness of the name of Jesus manifested its incompatibility with the unholiness of man.

It does not, however, stop at the simple impression; but this glorifying of the name of Jesus had more definite consequences. Two of these are put prominently forward by St Luke (ver. xix. 20). That these are two, and not one and the same, as Olshausen thinks, may be shown from the circumstance, that πολλοί (ver. 18) and ἱκανοὶ (ver. 19) are placed in opposition to each other; and, moreover, the use of δὲ in ver. 19, carriesthe mind on to something additional. The expression πολλοὶ τῶν πεπιστευκότων, cannot be interpreted, as Meyer wishes, as if such were intended, as had become believers, after, and in consequence of what had befallen the exorcists. Such a meaning, there can be no doubt, would have been expressed by πιστευσάντων, or still preferably by the phrase πολλοὶ οἱ ἐπίστευσαν. Moreover, it is scarcely conceivable that this event merely of itself should have won many to the faith. Does it surprise Meyer, that those who had already believed, should now for the first time confess their misdeeds? If we supposed (a supposition to which also the very expressions lead us) that these confessions refer to particular sins, we can very well imagine the reason which had hitherto prevented many from making such a confession, and also what it was that caused them to be made at that particular time. As in the practice of the Apostles, we have no instance of even a general confession of sins, to say nothing of a particular confession; we must suppose that in the ordinary instances of conversion, such an acknowledgment of sins was included in the profession of faith in Jesus Christ. The incidents connected with the possessed and the exorcists, afforded, however, practical proof of the truth, that no community can exist between the holy name of Jesus and any sinful action. Such a connection may, it is true, be externally professed; but even in this world it meets with due punishment, and accordingly can bring no blessing, but is productive of nothing but misery. The consciences of many among the believers were smitten by these facts. And as a multitude of evil deeds were thereupon brought to their recollection, they could find no rest until they had confessed and renounced their offences. And it was only natural, that those who had been in the habit of

committing offences of the same nature as those of the exorcists, should be the most affected by the fearful judgment that had fallen upon them, on account of sins of that kind. We are here expressly reminded of a fact which we have already noticed; that, namely, Ephesus was singularly notorious throughout antiquity for its practice of magic and theurgical art; and especially for its forms of charms and incantations (γράμματα ἐφέσια, comp. Grotius ad. v. 18; Crutzers, Symbol. und Mythолog. ii. 195; Ortlob de Ephesiorum libris curiosis. in Syll. dissert ed Has et Iken ii. 710, 711). It is also generally acknowledged that the spirit of the Gospel every where found the greatest difficulty in conquering the domain of superstition; that invariably among every people who embraced the Gospel truth, innumerable vestiges of their ancient heathen superstitions were still retained and propagated, either half concealed under a Christian guise or else openly practised (comp. J. Grimm deutsche Mythologie Einleitung, S. xviii.—xxii.; Anhang S. cxxvi.—cl.). Accordingly, it is nothing to be wondered at, if in Ephesus, where the popular prejudices of Asiatics and Greeks were intermingled, and where both preserved a decided and overweening disposition for unholy practices and arts; there were nevertheless many who had been induced to embrace the Gospel without forthwith abandoning fully from the heart these abominations. Precisely on such minds would the unequivocal distinction which, in the case of the exorcists, the evil spirit had operated between a faith in Jesus and that superstitious credence in demoniacal power, naturally manifest itself with the strongest influence; and it is even in this effect that we most clearly trace the Divine purpose of the extraordinary miracles which had been wrought by St Paul at Ephesus; and the aim of our historian in recording them. Inasmuch, namely, as the superstitious belief in demons was an inveterate evil in Ephesus, and might, therefore, have easily tainted the Christian community, had it not been thoroughly condemned: the miracles which, in this city, accompanied the preaching of the Gospel, and which exhibited by their results a clearly recognisable line of demarcation between a holy faith and an unholy superstition, were exactly in their proper place there. And since, moreover, the peculiar sin of the city and people of Ephesus, even if it does not shew itself everywhere in the same intensity and

unmitigated form; does, nevertheless, find in all places and at all times, something similar and akin to it, amid the existing circumstances of the world, St Luke was perfectly justified in holding up as a bright mirror, to all times and all communities, these events which occurred at Ephesus. However, the victory of faith over the power of superstition which had been gained by the miracles of God, was appropriated by the Ephesian community in the noblest manner possible. In a way corresponding exactly to the *ἐφέσια γράμματα*, so frequently mentioned and described as means of magic, St Luke tells us, that those who had been addicted to these unholy practices (*τὰ περίεργα πράξαντες*), brought together the books relating to these curious arts (*τὰς βίβλους*), and publicly burned them. A more complete renunciation of their superstition is scarcely conceivable. For, in the first place, this act amounted to a public and practical acknowledgment of sin; and, secondly, this avowal was in the present case associated with an actual purification from sin, inasmuch as that which furnished the constant aliment to their peculiar offence, was thus cast into the flames; and, lastly, this renunciation appears to have been so sincere, and so thorough, that at the cost of no little self-denial, they cut off the very chance of affording an occasion of stumbling to others. To enable us to judge of the last-mentioned points, St Luke has recorded the great sum at which the value of the burned books was estimated. For since Ephesus was famous in ancient times for its treatisies on magic, they naturally would possess a high value. The books thus destroyed were reckoned to be worth fifty thousand pieces of silver. As St Luke is usually very accurate in all his statements, and very careful also to adjust them to the actual circumstances and relations with which he has to do, the moderns are undoubtedly right in opposing the views of the ancient commentators, who propose to complete the passage, by understanding the Hebrew coin shekel. Justly do they argue, that in the case of a city, which in its public character was decidedly Hellenic, and, at any rate, had nothing in common with the Jewish nationality, we must in thought add the properly Greek coin (see Bockh. metreologische Untersuch. S. 34)—the *δραχμή*, to the number set down. According to this view, the whole sum, if we take Winer's estimate of the value of the drachma (see Biblisch.

Realw. i. 276), when reduced to German money, will be about 12,500 Prussian dollars.[1] It is clearly intended by this that we should understand that each single book possessed a marketable value, and, consequently, if any had no wish to make any further use of it, he might easily have realised its price. How sincere, therefore, and how thorough, was that renunciation which preferred to give up a certain gain, rather than to be the occasion of sin and of temptation to others! Who, after such facts, will be unable to understand, or pronounce unreasonable, the admiring remark of St Luke: So mightly grew the word of God and prevailed! (upon the use of κράτος, to designate an outward manifestation of power, see Harless. zum Br. an. d. Ephes. S. 109). And yet Baur (see der Apostel Paulus, S. 190) declares (in which, however, he has not been followed by Zeller, see ibid. S. 547), that in this effect of the miraculous operations, he can see nothing but the exchanging of one form of superstition for another. The learned critic can have no idea at all of the iron strength with which the victim of heathen superstition is enchained to the object of his devotion and reverence; otherwise, he would have understood that an act of so solemn a character as the public burning of these treatises on magic, is only explicable on the supposition of a total renunciation of the principle of superstition. A due consideration, moreover, of that far more intelligible element of this self-denial to which St Luke points out, by his estimate of the value of the burnt books, ought to have guarded the critic against making so rash an assertion.

The hints, which are given us in the following verses (21, 22) of the thoughts and purposes of St Paul relatively to his further labours, are in the highest degree instructive and important. This is the first time that St Luke has allowed us to catch a glimpse of the inmost soul of the Apostle, while meditating on the whole problem he had set himself to. His doing so cannot have been purely accidental; but it must have had a manifest reason in the history itself. Distinctly and incontestably as the conversion of St Paul by the Lord of Heaven is placed before us, and thereby was set forth as independent, of, and unconnected with, the rest of the development; with no

[1] Equal to £1875 English, taking the Prussian dollar at 3s.—Tr.

less fidelity, and no less conscientiously, did St Paul subsequently observe every trace of a connection between what the Lord had effected immediately in his person and the existing Church and her Government. Thus, for instance, that mission into the regions afar, which the Lord had at the very first announced to him, was neither sooner undertaken, nor otherwise realized by him, than when the existing state of the Church clearly furnished an occasion and requirements for his exertions in remoter quarters. He did not come forth from his retirement in Arabia and Tarsus, until he had been sought for by Barnabas, and taken by him to Antioch. And here, in Antioch, he did not anxiously seek for any change. He waited for the community there to fix both the manner and the season of his labours. It is upon his second journey to Asia Minor that his departure is for the first time ascribed to his own independent determination. But even this resolution was suggested and rendered necessary by the foundation of the several churches in Asia Minor, which were founded principally by St Paul, and, at all events, were committed pre-eminently to his charge. So entirely was this the case, that in the judgment of every one, he must appear to have been influenced throughout by a conscientious consideration of the actual state of things. For the plan of extending his journey beyond the limits of the Churches already established in Asia Minor was not settled at Antioch; but the thought of it must have gradually arisen on his mind in the midst of those richly flourishing communities. The decisive step of proceeding to Europe had indeed been so far prepared at this time, that the slightest hint of the Spirit was enough to ensure its being immediately taken. In Europe, the labours of the Apostle were so developed, and took precisely such a shape, that we can everywhere follow them, step by step, along the track that circumstances marked out for them. That, afterwards, the Apostle should betake himself to Ephesus, and commence a long and permanent course of operations there, has, by a careful weighing of circumstances, been shown by us to have been naturally brought about, and to be perfectly intelligible. In Ephesus, men were moved to make their decision by the mighty and undoubted victory of the power of Christ over the Jewish and Pagan superstitions prevailing in that city, as St Luke intimates

by the closing remark of verse 20. For, henceforth, Ephesus must be looked upon as taken possession of by the ascended Lord. And by this means the equally powerful and necessary connection between the first beginnings of the Christian Church in Jerusalem and Antioch on the one side, and the fresh spring and shoot of the future in the European land of the isles on the other, was firmly and surely established. And ought we not, then, to consider it quite natural, if the Apostle is here represented to us as standing, as it were, on a lofty tower, whence, turning his looks to the east and to the west, he forms in his own mind, freely and independently, his ideas and plans for his future labours, and also makes known to us these, his free and independent deliberations. For, under the guidance of the Lord, who gradually leaves him more entirely to his own judgment, not only has he himself become more matured, and possessed of a clearer consciousness, even with respect to the understanding of what the development of the Church is to be, but his companions also, and the Churches, are, by the actual results, more deeply initiated into the mystery of the Apostleship of St Paul, and the counsels of God, relative to the course which the development of the Church was to take. Indeed, St Luke has put us in a condition to follow the Apostle in his thoughts, as they were directed towards the future; and thus again we receive an additional proof how well digested was the plan on which the work before us was projected, and with what unerring truth it was executed.

When it is said ἔθετο ὁ Παῦλος ἐν τῷ πνεύματι, we must doubtless understand thereby neither a direct intimation of the Spirit, such as he had received during his first residence in this region (xvi. 7), nor yet an ordinary act of human deliberation and decision, but rather as an act of the inner life, in which the energy of the Divine spirit and of the spirit of St Paul, co-operated together in one common purpose. Accordingly, while in this act, Paul felt himself to have been determined and guided, so also he was conscious of his own freedom and independence; in such a manner, however, as that he perceived that his own free impulse had not been founded on any arbitrary volition of the natural man, but on the will of his renewed and spiritual nature; and in truth, for this reason, that the guiding and determining

motive did not proceed from here or from there, but from his conscious perception of its being the guidance and determination of the everlasting spirit of God. His views and thoughts turn first of all to Macedonia and Achaia. For there in Western Greece are even the Churches founded by his own labours, under the especial blessing of the Lord, and which, at a later period, flourished so gloriously. True it was that eastwards, also, there were churches founded by St Paul—not only the four which he had planted on his first missionary journey, but also the Church of Galatia, which had been established at a later date; and of the latter we know that it was the object of his most anxious care even during the period of his labours in Ephesus. For in all probability we must look upon his Epistle to the Galatians as having been composed and written during his long sojourn in the city of Ephesus (see Wieseler Chronolog. der Apostol. Zeitalters S. 275, 276). But although the Apostle had the welfare of all those Churches equally at heart, as he himself declares (2 Cor. xi. 28), and especially felt a most profound and affectionate interest in the prosperty of the Galatian Christians (see Gal. iv. 14); still the grand progress of the Gospel from the east to the west had directed the thoughts of the Apostle to the overwhelming importance of the western Churches. And indeed it was, as we have already seen, properly as a point of connection between the east and the west, that even Ephesus assumed an importance in his mind. When, then, a certain close of evangelical energy now appeared to be attained in Ephesus (ὡς ἐπληρώθη ταῦτα ver. 21), the eye of the Apostle, which had been directed so emphatically and in such various ways towards the western lands, turns involuntarily to the west. We know also from the epistles to the Corinthians, which likewise were either written at Ephesus, or else very shortly after his departure from that city (1 Cor. xvi. 8; 2 Cor. ii. 12, 13), that the various disorders and irregularities which had sprung up in the Corinthian Church even alongside of its noble and imperishable examples of spiritual life, deeply moved the Apostle, and claimed his attention to a degree that nothing else could, and rendered his personal presence there indispensable. It has now become a very prevalent opinion, in consequence especially of Bleek's researches, which have recently been adopted by Wieseler, and received from him still further confirmation

(see Chronol. des Apostol. Zeitalters S. 232—241), that between St Paul's solemn departure from Corinth (xviii. 18) and the journey to Achaia, of which we have a report in Acts xx. 1—3, and to which the present passage refers, he must have been again in Corinth. We cannot decide this question in the present place, still we must make one remark in defence of our narrative, that, namely, even if this view is correct, no one, nevertheless, has a right to reproach the Apostolic history with the sin of omission. For we must only bring the fact again before our minds that the task which St Luke undertook was not to write the history of the Apostle St Paul, but of the development of the Church as it was displayed in its grander feaures, and such as were of most importance for its future destiny. From this historical point of view a journey of St Paul to Corinth, which may have been very necessary for the existing state of the Corinthian Church, may have appeared wholly unimportant even because it was not productive of any essential result, and in no wise promoted the progress and development of the universal Church. In any case we see that it was a duty lying on the Apostle, in the event of his wishing to journey still further than he had yet done, first of all to visit again the earlier fields of his labours in the west. The Apostle, however, characterises his proposed journey to Macedonia and Achaia merely as a rapid transit (διελθὼν ver. 21), during which he had in view another and a remoter goal. And we also see that it was in this wise that he actually performed the journey; and St Luke also speaks of it in the corresponding manner. The Apostle perhaps has in his eye some more distant point in the west? Some other object, nevertheless, lay more immediately on his heart. From the very first we have been able to notice how steadily, notwithstanding all the requisitions which call him to distant and remote lands, the Apostle made it a point not to advance indefinitely forwards, but to keep constantly and clearly in view the connection with the first starting points and primordia of the Church. Ephesus, therefore, pointed his thoughts as much backwards as onwards. He thought of Jerusalem, where, three years before, he had kept the feast of Pentecost—and Jerusalem properly is his immediate goal. But not as it was three years ago when he was in Ephesus. Then it was a personal need which determined his movements. On that occasion,

therefore, he hastened to his object by the direct road. In the present case it is no question of his personal wishes, but of his Apostolical duties. The journey to Jerusalem, therefore, stands in connection with his Apostleship of the Gentiles. He does not propose, consequently, to proceed at once to Jerusalem; first of all he will take a journey through Macedonia and Achaia, and afterwards visit the Holy City. It follows, then, that his travels through these fields of his European labours, to which the connection between διελθὼν and πορεύεσθαι most naturally refers, are associated in his plans with his visit to Jerusalem. Is it then the object of the Apostle to carry to Jerusalem a report of the results of his labours among the heathen, and to publish it there? Three years before he had been actuated by a strong desire to return thanks, in the temple of the Lord, at the approaching feast of Pentecost, for the abundant harvest he had gathered in from among the Gentiles. And this desire he actually gratified in the utmost privacy, and St Luke tells us nothing expressly about it. But may it not be advisable that the work of conversion among the Gentiles, especially in the wide extent which it has now already reached, and, as it were, come to a certain close, should be publicly reported to the Church of Israel in the city of God, and must we not, after all that has preceded, expect that St Paul would possess a clear insight into this intrinsic necessity.

It might perhaps be supposed that a more extended horizon had not yet dawned on the view of St Paul. The announcement, and the report at Jerusalem of the conversion in the remote western regions of the Grecian land of the isles, and in the countries which lay between Judea and these islands, might very well have afforded a satisfactory resting point for the spiritual eye of the Apostle; but his glance pierced far beyond that. After he had declared it to be his determination to go to Jerusalem, he added the remarkable words: ὅτι μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι με ἐκεῖ, δεῖ με καὶ Ῥώμην ἰδεῖν (ver. 21). Herein he has pronounced the all important word, which already for a long time had been dwelling in his heart, and which may, unknown even to himself, have been leading him onwards on his road. The manner in which the Apostle expresses his thoughts about Rome is characteristic. We have just seen that, in his reflection on the plan of his future labours, he felt himself perfectly free and

independent; and this aspect of independence and free determination, shews itself especially in his expressions concerning Rome. He speaks as if he were driven on by a profound and irresistible impulse to see the imperial city of the world. The impression his words leave on our minds is just as if he were desirous by this one sentence to give utterance to the last object of all his wishes and struggles. Although, in the first calling of St Paul, there is suggested clearly enough the thought of this highest height; and, in the case of an Israelite, who retained a vivid consciousness both of the past and the present fortunes of his people, we have no need to look far for the origin of such a thought as that which regarded Rome as the final object of the world; nevertheless, under the guidance of the history before us, we can do something more, and point out most precisely, how such an idea may have been suggested to the mind of the Apostle, by historical considerations. The general conception of the Roman power as the element which at this time ruled the whole world, must have already formed and shaped itself in the mind of St Paul, especially upon his entrance into Europe; first of all, after the experience he had at Philippi; then, in Thessalonica, as well as in Corinth, in very clear and definite outlines, such as we have already had occasion to point out. The first vivid contact, however, which he had incurred with the centre of the Roman system was in his acquaintance with Aquila and Priscilla, who not only had just come from Rome, but whose departure from that capital, and arrival at Corinth, truly reflected the character of Rome.

Now Aquila and Priscilla not only continued in the closest intercourse with St Paul during the whole of his stay at Corinth, but they also accompanied him on his voyage from Cenchrea to Ephesus, and preserved their intimacy with him up to the time of his second departure from Ephesus (see 1 Cor. xvi. 19). In their society which, to the Apostle, was very valuable, the Apostle was all the while continually and vividly reminded of Rome. We have, moreover, at this period, other declarations of the Apostle in which he avows his desire of going to Rome. From the passage (2 Cor. x. 13—16), we see that at the time of his long sojourn at Ephesus, Paul regarded Corinth as the extreme point, both in an intensive and extensive point of view, that he

had reached in his evangelical mission according to the measure appointed him by God. But we also immediately discern from the same passage that in his plans and purposes he had already passed beyond this boundary; and if we bear in view the vast standard to which the Apostle, both by his call and his guidance, had been referred, we shall scarcely be able to doubt that, by the expression *εἰς τὰ ὑπερέκεινα ὑμῶν*, nothing less can be meant than Italy and Rome. Quite clear, however, is the declaration which St Paul makes in his Epistle to the Romans, in which even during his stay in Corinth, while speaking of his contemplated tour through Achaia (see Romans xv. 25, 26), the Apostle says that he not only had an earnest desire of seeing the Christians at Rome, but that long before he had intended to travel thither, but that he had hitherto been somehow or other prevented (see Rom. i. 10—13). From all this we see how the Apostle gradually came to regard Rome as the final goal of his exertions, and that in Ephesus, as soon as he had fulfilled the object of his mission thither, he had already entertained the idea. St Paul, however, does not immediately leave his important position in Ephesus on the boundary between European and Asiatic life which, in any case, must have been highly important for the future destinies of the Church. On the one hand, he attempts to prepare for his journey from Ephesus to Macedonia and Achaia by sending beforehand two of his fellow-labourers—Timotheus, who had accompanied him on his first journey through Macedonia and Achaia, and Erastus, of whom nothing further is known (ver. 22). All this agrees with the statements made in the Epistles to the Corinthians, which were written at this same period, in which he tells them he had sent on Timotheus and was expecting his immediate arrival in Corinth (1 Cor. xvi. 10), and that he also wished to induce Apollos to undertake a journey in company with certain others to Corinth (1 Cor. xvi. 10). Mention is also subsequently made of his having sent Titus to Corinth (2 Cor. vii. 13), as well as other brethren who were to visit the Churches in Achaia before the arrival of the Apostle (2 Cor. ix. 1—5). This mission of the brethren to Macedonia necessarily strengthens us in the opinion previously advanced; that with regard to the European Churches which he proposed to visit, it was the Apostle's desire, before he should start for Jerusalem, to

prepare a something against his return to the Holy City. Only it must surprise us to find that, after adopting this important plan for the future, the Apostle still found himself at leisure to direct his attention for awhile to Asia (ver. 22). But, on the one hand, St Paul, as we have seen, considered that certain preparatory measures were necessary for his journey to Macedonia and Achaia; and on the other hand, in Ephesus, he had not his attention turned exclusively to the city, but his care was, at the same time, directed to the whole domain of Asia. Accordingly he endeavours to employ the respite thus granted him in bringing his labours in this neighbourhood also to a certain preliminary conclusion. An opportunity of labouring in the cause of the Gospel in this manner in the region above-named, is mentioned by St Paul himself as occurring at this very date (2 Cor. ii. 12, 13; x. 3). In the meantime, towards the end of the Apostle's long residence at Ephesus, an event happened which St Luke considers so characteristic that he gives us a very full and particular account of it. Demetrius, a silversmith, attempted to inflame his fellow-craftsmen against St Paul, by pointing out to them how the Apostle, by his doctrine, and by teaching that the gods made with hands ought not to be worshipped, had materially diminished their earnings (vv. 25, 26). For the image of Diana, which was kept in the temple of that goddess in the vicinity of Ephesus, passed for a so-called διοπετὲς, that is, it was held to have fallen from heaven; which peculiar expression our historian has not allowed to escape (see ver. 35; Grotius thereon). Copies of this image were in general requisition, and the further that the fame of the Ephesian Diana reached (Creutzer's Symbol und Mythолog. ii. 176—192), the greater was the demand for such images (Creutzer's ibid. 186). Moreover, the temple of Diana at Ephesus enjoyed an extraordinary renown, especially after its rebuilding by Chersephron (see Sickler's Handbuch der alten Geographie, S. 527, 528). Now, it was a pretty general custom among the Greeks to have copies made of the temples in other places likewise, which they eagerly purchased, either for the purpose of carrying them about with them on their journeys, or of reverently placing them in their own houses (see Wetstein and Grotius, ver. 24); and, among the rest, models of this temple of Diana in Ephesus were

manufactured in great numbers and richly ornamented. Now, we are irresistibly led to conclude that the success which attended the preaching of the Apostle in Ephesus and Asia was very considerable, from the fact that Demetrius and his fellow-workmen, had already experienced a remarkable falling off in this line of their business, and were even now beginning to feel alarmed about the whole of the temple worship in Ephesus for the future. This occasion and beginning of a great movement against the Gospel in Ephesus, which St Luke here reports (ver. 23), is highly characteristic. For the persecution which is described in this passage has the peculiarity that it was not at first stirred up by Jews, but, like that which happened in Philippi, it originated entirely with the Gentiles. Accordingly, then, we have the same character presented which we formerly met with in the persecution at Philippi. The hatred and hostility did not, as was the case with the Jews, take their rise from religious, but from worldly considerations; and, indeed, as in Philippi, in a question of profit and trade (*ἐργασία* see xvi. 16, 19; xix. 25, 27). True it is that, in this instance, the mask under which the hostility (which evidently drew its ground from the love of external gain) here hides itself, was borrowed from a different province of things; in Philippi it was a political, here it is a religious pretext. By this means the movement does undoubtedly assume a heathen and a fanatical character; and it is evidently the object of our informant to bring distinctly before us, by the most vivid traits possible, this passionate fanaticism; and the cry "Great is Diana of the Ephesians," excites not only the whole populace, but, after being once put down, breaks out afresh, and is kept up for two hours as the universal cry of all present (ver. 34). We have in this fact the clearest proof that, in spite of the effectual and blessed exertions of the Apostle in Ephesus, heathenism was by no means conquered, for the city at this moment appears to be universally Pagan; and the beginnings of faith and spiritual life are entirely hidden. It is equally evident, from the fanatical cry of the whole populace, that, alongside of the disposition to receive the Gospel, which in this city we met with among the heathen, there nevertheless existed also an element of hostile antagonism and wild turbulence. St Luke evidently will not lead us through the lands and

cities of heathendom, without pointing out to us the dark abyss, out of which many a tearful and bloody affliction had accrued to the Church of Christ.

At the very beginning of this outbreak of heathen fanaticism in Ephesus, the lives of the messengers of the Gospel were in danger. St Paul, indeed—as had formerly happened in Thessalonica, was fortunately not in the place where they sought him. In his stead, however, they seize two of his companions from Macedonia, of whom Gaius, a Macedonian, was one; who, as Meyer justly remarks, cannot be identical with the Gaius mentioned in Acts xx. 4; Rom. xvi. 23; 1 Cor. i. 14; and who consequently is otherwise wholly unknown to us. The other, however, Aristarchus, is more frequently mentioned (Acts xx. 4; xxvii. 2; Col. iv. 10; Philem. i. 24). When the rioters had seized these persons (there is really no reason why Winer in his Gramm. des neutest. Sprachidioms, S. 414, should have entertained any doubt as to the relative time expressed by *συναρπάσαντες*, in ver. 24); the whole multitude act with one accord, and force their way into the theatre. In reference to this locality, Wetstein remarks: in theatris non ludi solum edebantur, verum etiam seria a populo tractari solebunt. And he has illustrated this with a rich collection of quotations (comp. also Bleek, zum Briefe an der Hebræer ii. 2, 700). So violent a beginning might very easily have led to the most fearful results; and how perilous the position of the Apostolic preacher of the Gospel really was, is sensibly shewn by the earnest warning which the Asiarchs (a highly respected board of authorities in Proconsular Asia—see Wolf on ver. 31) gave the Apostle Paul. Moreover, on this occasion, Jewish animosity was leagued to heathen fanaticism. For it was evidently nothing else than hostility to the Gospel, which impelled the Jews to push forward Alexander—who, judging from the context, was evidently a Jew, who had believed in Jesus Christ (ver. 33), intending to make him the victim of their persecution, and to effect his destruction at the hands of the excited populace. But, in truth, things did not go on here exactly as they had done in other places, where the hatred of the heathen had been excited and set in motion, purely by the malice of the Jews. Here it would appear that the animosity of

the Gentiles assumed an independent character; and that the tumult which the Jews sought on this occasion to stimulate, recoiled on their own heads. For when the excited multitude remarked that Alexander, who was compelled to address them, was a Jew, they all raised their cry more vehemently and passionately than before. If, by the way, Meyer remarks on the sentence in ver. 34, ὅτι Ἰουδαῖός ἐστι, that "this assertion of the multitude conveys no historical information," he has in view the idioms of his own language more than those of Scripture. For, according to the latter, a declaration of Jewish nationality no more carries with it the predication of faith in Jesus, than the assertion of a Hellenic origin would. Without doubt, the excited multitude suspected in the Christian condemnation of their Pagan worship, the influence of Jewish national opinions, and, consequently, it was sufficient for them that they recognised a Jew in Alexander, to make them unwilling to allow him to address a single word to them.

Naturally, it is quite beyond our power to calculate to what further outbreak of violence their fanatical passions might have impelled the excited populace, if another power had not obtained the ascendancy over its fierce waves. The town-clerk—in Grecian cities a high authority (see Wetstein and Grotius on ver. 35)—delivered an earnest and dignified address to the people, in which he shewed that the men whom they had forcibly dragged to that place, the companions of St Paul, were perfectly blameless, for they had neither robbed the temple nor blasphemed the divinity of Diana (ver. 37). He treated the matter altogether as a lawyer; and from this point of view he could not take cognizance of the grave accusations with which St Paul and his companions were charged, of having attacked Diana of the Ephesians, simply on this account that offences of this kind evidently did not fall under the penalties established by law. If, however, he went on to say, any legal offence had really been committed, (for he immediately perceived the discontent with which his words were received by Demetrius and his fellow-craftsmen), the ordinary tribunals were open to them. And when the town-clerk reminded them of the responsibility they incurred by their tumultuous conduct, it necessarily made a deep impression on their minds. He drew

their attention to the fact that they were not their own masters, but subject to a higher power and authority; and that, consequently, they must conduct themselves in conformity with the requirements of the law, which was superior to them all. In this conclusion of his speech, (ver. 40) there is a very evident allusion to the constitution of Imperial Rome, according to which such a violent and tumultuous mode of proceeding was both illegal and punishable. After this speech the assembly was dismissed, and the uproar perfectly stilled.

Although, therefore, from the narrative before us, we clearly perceive that in Paganism, as well as in Judaism, an uncompromising opposition was to be looked for, yet this hostility on the part of the heathen shews itself, both in its origin and its manner of action, essentially different from that of the Jews. What power on earth would ever have been able to appease the fanaticism of the Jews against the witnesses of Christ when once it had broken out? Evidently the less energetic character of the heathen animosity was closely connected with the fact that, among the heathen, it had a purely material basis, while with the Jews the occasion and source of their enmity was furnished by the conflict which the Gospel, victorious through faith, had waged against their Divine past history. And from this it further followed, that among the Jews the public authorities were drawn into the public animosity, nay, rather, that it began from those above; while in heathendom the authorities were able to preserve public order, and to restore tranquillity even in the presence of those material, and consequently individual and incidental occasions of opposition, and in the beginning at least were able to restrain the outbreaks of passion. It was, evidently, an important object with St Luke to give us a lucid example of their power of resistance to the wild excesses of Pagan fanaticism. And for this reason he has recorded the forcible speech of the town-clerk so fully, and, as it is quite plain, so correctly, and in the very words of the speaker. Evidently it was his intention to make it clear to us that in this instance it was the principle of public authority that prevented this outbreak of Pagan fury from coming quickly to a head. Herein, perhaps, we must also take into consideration the fact that some of the Asiarchs were friendly

disposed towards the Apostle, and by warning him of the danger that menaced him, endeavoured to save his life (ver. 31). Much purer does the influence of this principle of authority manifest itself in the speech of the town-clerk. First of all, he explicitly avows his sympathy with the feelings of the people in the respect they thus publicly evince for Diana of the Ephesians. It was chiefly to demonstrate this fact that St Luke has given us the opening of the speech in all its peculiar features, inasmuch as he has designedly retained both an expression which was so characteristic of Ephesus in this respect as that, viz., of *νεωκόρος* (see Wetstein ii. 588), and the term *διοπετές* as applied to the image of Diana (see Wetstein ii. 569). Consequently we learn from this commencement that the town-clerk was not, as perhaps might have been supposed, amicably disposed towards St Paul and his work; and, consequently, all that he advanced for the purposes of restoring order and stilling the tumult, had only so much the more weight. And the whole of this, the principal portion of his discourse, is so contrived and so worked out that it is easy to recognize in it the words of a representative of the Roman sense of obedience to law. In this way does St Paul experience the operation of a power which, in the very centre of paganism, opposes itself with a power of restraint and coercion to the full display of injustice. And this power reveals itself to him here, as at Corinth, in the shape and form of Roman law. If then, not long after the event in Corinth, he wrote to the Church at Rome on the nature of authority, and of the proper position which Christians should maintain in relation to it, doubtless in so far as he had occasion to refer to the presence and realisation of this idea of authority in existing times (Rom. xiii. 3, 4), he had the events which are here detailed before his eyes. And thus the sojourn of St Paul in Ephesus was, so far as external circumstances are concerned, brought to a similar conclusion to that in Corinth, and in this respect the metropolis of Asiatic and that of European Greece are placed on a similar footing.

§ 30. DEPARTURE OF THE APOSTLE PAUL FROM THE PREVIOUS SCENE OF HIS LABOUR.

(Chap. xx.)

It may easily be imagined that a deep impression would be made on the mind of St Paul by the final catastrophe in Ephesus, which, in a very palpable manner, had suddenly brought to light (what the Apostle had long been conscious of, and had expressed in writing), that there were many gainsayers in Ephesus (see 1 Cor. xvi. 9). The more clearly he had long been aware of what was the foundation of this enmity, and the more deeply, consequently, he must have been sensible of the danger which threatened him in the uproar, the more grateful must have been the feelings which the sense of his preservation awakened in him. In the freshness of this vivid emotion he writes to the Church at Corinth, while on his journey through Macedonia, which, as we here read (see xx. 1; comp. xix. 21), followed immediately after his peril and deliverance at Ephesus. Although he has this Church much on his heart, yet he cannot refrain himself, but must mention, first of all, these recent experiences of his own life (2 Cor. i. 3—11). From the expressions here used we gather that St Paul had given up all hope of life, and consequently regarded his deliverance as a waking from the dead. This only serves to prove to us the more clearly that he perfectly understood the unfathomable depths of malice which marked the hostility both of Jews and Gentiles, which was such that it would not rest until it could shed the blood of the witnesses of Jesus Christ; and that, consequently, he did not look for protection, or for the power to put to silence this animosity to any merely human person or efforts, but to the sphere of the Divine influence alone. And it rests also on this conviction, if for the future, in which he assumes and takes for granted that the same hostile power will likewise be present, he rests his confidence wholly on God, and precisely for that reason requests the co-operation of the prayers of the Church (2 Cor. i. 11; cf. Rom. xv. 30).

Since then his life had, as it were, been given to him anew, he set himself to work to carry into execution the plan which he

had already formed in his own mind (see xix. 21, 22). As on a former occasion at Corinth, under similar circumstances (xviii. 18), so now at Ephesus he takes a formal and solemn farewell of the disciples with the view of proceeding to Macedonia. We shall have no cause for wonder if, in this place, St Luke does not dwell long on the visit of St Paul to Macedonia, and much less if he has thought it necessary to mention the short stop at Troas (see 2 Cor. ii. 12, 13); for he has already intimated to us (xix. 21, 22), from the spirit and mouth of St Paul, that the journey to Macedonia and Achaia was only a rapid passage. As, however, he has simultaneously indicated and plainly pointed out to us the remoter terminus of the journey; it is consequently not difficult to see that in this case the mission of the Apostle, as regarded his operation and the tendency of the narrator in respect to his writing, must have here coincided, since the aim of both in these two respects was the same. St Luke, moreover, brings prominently forward from out of the events of the short stay of the Apostle in Macedonia, the circumstance that he had comforted them with the richest consolation (ver. 2). From this it results that the condition of the Church of Macedonia must, on the whole, have been satisfactory. The fact that, notwithstanding, it should have needed this rich consolation, had manifestly its source in the position of the world relatively to the Gospel, which was such as we have elsewhere already met with it often enough.

From the passage of Rom. xv. 19, the conclusion is usually drawn, that on this journey through Macedonia St Paul had penetrated with the preaching of the Gospel as far as Illyria (Wieseler Chronol. d. Apostol. Zeitalters p. 353, 354). Many commentators and critics also make what is said in Titus iii. 12 to refer to this journey, since they believe that they discover in it also a confirmation of their idea, that on this occasion St Paul had penetrated beyond the previous limits of his operations (Wieseler ibid. p. 335, 336). As to what concerns the latter view; it is, however, my conviction that all the circumstances connected with the so-called pastoral epistles must, without hesitation, be referred to a period subsequent to that which the Acts of the Apostles describe. In regard to the former passage, also, I not only share Neander's doubts whether it does really assert any exercise of the

Apostle's labours of preaching the Gospel within the boundaries of Illyria; but I also maintain that the passage itself does not allow of our supposing anything of the kind (see Neander's Geschichte der Pflanzung 1. 360. Anmerk). If St Paul here speaks of his own labours, and declares that he had preached the Gospel from Jerusalem and its neighbourhood as far as Illyria —so that in these parts (he is, however, writing in Corinth), he cannot find any further room for his operations, he is evidently writing in an elevated style, to which we must raise our own minds if we would wish to understand him. In Corinth, which, as yet, was the most advanced station towards the west, and also the highest reach of his preaching (conf. 2 Cor. x. 13—16), he feels himself placed, as it were, upon an eminence, as once before he had done at Ephesus (see Acts xix. 21, 22). It is, therefore, nothing to be wondered at, if here, in Corinth, his glance reached further onward than it did at Ephesus, and that Spain, not Rome, was here the limit of his view (see ver. 24, 28). The grand route which runs over the high places of the earth, was, without doubt, in the mind of the Apostle, Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Philippi, Thessalonica, Corinth, Rome, and the Imperial West. With such a direction of his thoughts, what meaning could it have to make mention of any labours in Illyria? If St Paul had already preached in Illyria, then there was nothing to hinder him from going to Thrace and Scythia; and therefore he could not have asserted that in these regions he had no further field for his exertions. If, however, we take this mention of Illyria in an exclusive sense, then all is clear. Supposing this tendency to the west which is established, once for all, as the goal of all St Paul's missionary thoughts, Illyria forms the utmost boundary of the civilisation of Greece, (see Sickler's Handbuck der alten Geograph. S. 189). Of necessity, therefore, does the Apostle, when he had thus reached the borders of Illyria, feel himself to be directed southwards. And when he has reached the south and arrived in Corinth, and is again placed on the coast of the sea, his eye was naturally towards Italy and Rome.

Consequently there does not exist any constraining reason why we should regard the journey through Macedonia, which the Apostle proposed in xix. 21, 22, and which St Luke here

reports, in any other light than that in which it is set forth in the narrative itself—namely, as designed purely for the confirmation and strengthening of the Churches already founded, in order that they might be fit to be left for the future to their own guidance. Now the narrative goes on to inform us, that the Apostle remained three months in Greece (ver. 3), and this agrees very well with the information we derive from other sources. According to their account, Paul, when on his journey, found various matters to arrange and settle in Corinth, and also in Achaia. As St Luke states the time of the sojourn in Greece to have been three months, he intimates that St Paul found more to do in this part of his journey than elsewhere; and as he here makes no mention of the consolation in reference to the Church in Macedonia, he gives us to understand that here there was something else to be done than, by comfort and exhortation, to supply strength to believers in the path they had entered. Now it was the original intention of the Apostle to return from Greece to Syria (ver. 3). We cannot, indeed, understand this statement exactly in the same light as we we did on his first departure from Corinth, where the route for his return was the same (xviii. 18). The final termination of the Apostolic journey at that time was first of all Antioch, but now the immediate goal was Jerusalem (see xix. 21). Whereas, at that time, Jerusalem was only visited collaterally (see xviii. 21), this may be now said of Syria. It may be easily conceived that St Paul, when he was starting on his great farewell journey, and took his departure from the scene of his previous labours, in order to preceed forthwith to Jerusalem, he also entertained a wish to visit Antioch, the place where he had first exercised his Apostolical functions, and the centre from which his missions had radiated. This wish was, however, thwarted and actually baffled by a snare laid for him by the Jews, which we shall presently have to consider. This lying-in-wait of the Jews is to our minds a proof of their growing hostility against St Paul. Evidently we have here a still higher degree of Jewish hatred of the Apostle than we have hitherto met with. On former occasions, in Thessalonica and Corinth, the Jews had attempted to excite the Roman authorities against the Apostle and his fellow-labourers. In this, however, they had totally failed, and most signally at Corinth. But on the present occasion they are determined to

trust to themselves, and by treachery to get the Apostle into their power. This unceasing hostility and malice is explained by the eminent success which had crowned the labours of St Paul in preaching the Gospel amongst the heathen. The more, that is to say, that the Gentiles are set forth as the blessed people of God, the more severe and decided becomes the censure on the unbelief of the synagogue which was already implied in the mere existence of these Gentile Churches. Now we know, moreover, that in Corinth, which we must suppose was the intended starting point of his return to Syria and Jerusalem (see Rom. xv. 25), and where, consequently, we must fix the obstructive lying in wait of the Jews, the intercourse of the Church with the synagogue, notwithstanding the decided animosity which had broken out at a very early period, had not yet ceased to exist (see xvii. 28).

Accordingly, this lying-in-wait of the Jews was the reason why St Paul, instead of returning by sea, as he had intended, was compelled to take the route by land through Macedonia, which naturally was the cause of a longer delay. Now, it is prominently mentioned, as something particularly remarkable, that a company of seven persons joined the Apostle as companions on this journey (ver. 4). From the very commencement of the public labours of the Apostle, we have been accustomed to find others associated with him in his work and journeys; but we have never met with such an instance of this companionship before. In no one case hitherto have we found these companions in so great a number, for, besides the seven expressly named, there is still one more to be added, namely St Luke (ver. 5.) Nay, in the word ἡμεῖς, one or two others, besides St Luke, may be, perhaps, included. Moreover, in all other instances it is clearly obvious that it was intended that these companions of St Paul should assist him in the churches. But, on this occasion, this object is not apparent. For, in the first place, St Paul intended to perform his journey rapidly, and its end was Jerusalem. Accordingly, the presence of companions on these travels, since it is mainly with the latter part of it that the history concerns itself, must have had it in view that they were to give St Paul some assistance at Jerusalem. But what can the Apostle be purposing to effect in Jerusalem, when it was to the Apostleship of the Gentiles that he had

been called, and and long since had been despatched by the Lord himself from the holy city to labour elsewhere, xxii. 18? And if St Paul had no field there for his exertions, wherefore does he require companions and assistants? Or ought we perhaps to suppose that this company only went as far as Asia ἄχρι τῆς Ἀσίας, as at first sight it does appear to be meant, so that these companions remained in Asia, while St Paul proceeded to the end of his journey alone? This supposition, however, would be in direct contradiction to a fact distinctly asserted; Trophinus, namely, the seventh among those mentioned, appears subsequently in the retinue of St Paul (see xxi. 29). It would, besides, be very singular that St Luke should have mentioned their accompanying him in the beginning, and yet, afterwards, have not added a word about their subsequent occupation. Lastly, a more accurate weighing of the words ἄχρι τῆς Ἀσίας yield quite a different meaning from that we just now supposed them to convey. We must, for the purpose of interpreting them, take into consideration the fifth verse. In recent times, a disposition has been shown to limit the relation of οὗτοι to the two last named (see de Wette on ver. 5), while they argued that it was not probable that so large a number of associates would have been sent on beforehand. But with good grounds has Wieseler objected to this view, that we ought not to allow ourselves to pass a judgment on this matter, even because we are totally ignorant what object was in view when they were sent on before (see Chronol. des Apostol. Zeitalters S. 293). Apart, however, from this allowable argument, any such limitation of the pronoun οὗτοι to the two last named is perfectly arbitrary, and, therefore, untenable. For the enumeration of the seven names evidently forms one series; and the two last are no more separated from Gaius and Timotheus by the δὲ, than the two Thessalonians are by the first δὲ from Sopater. The whole series is held together by the predicate, and they are divided only by the diversity of their birth-places; but this diversity forms no impediment to their forming one whole, but, on the contrary, does but serve to define it more closely. When, therefore, οὗτοι follows such an inclusive enumeration, in that case, unless some other constraining reasons exist, no limitation ought to be assumed. But if this is really the fact; if all those enumerated

above really went before to Troas, then we must further admit that Wieseler (see ibidem), is justified in maintaining that προελθεῖν can only be supposed to begin where the συνέπεσθαι left off; and precisely in this light has Zittman, even long before, viewed the relation of these two verbs (see in Meyer on ver. 4). But this view is not perfectly established except by the further remark of Wieseler, that ἄχρι τῆς Ἀσίας is to be taken in an exclusive sense, and that, consequently, it has here the same signification as "up to that point from which the voyage to Asia is usually made." If we bring before our minds the direction of the journey from Greece through Macedonia to Asia, it becomes in fact highly probable that the departure from Philippi should be viewed as the commencement of the journey to Asia.

If, then, the case thus stands with respect to this accompanying, that all those above-named really made the journey through Macedonia in company with St Paul, and then went forwards with St Luke to Troas in order to wait there for St Paul and St Luke (ver. 5), then we must also conclude that this company likewise attended him on the further journey from Troas; and since the destination of Paul has been already most distinctly given (see xix. 21, 22), and also in the subsequent report again distinctly occurs, we have evidently to infer that these companions shared his journey from the beginning to its end—namely, to Jerusalem. But then, the question propounded above again recurs: what, upon such a hypothesis, must we conceive to have been the object of the presence of so many companions? St Paul travels to Jerusalem with the consciousness of having brought his task of preaching the Gospel to the heathen to a satisfactory preliminary close. He had avowed this conviction both in Ephesus and in Corinth, and in both these places he had associated his design of going to Jerusalem with this conviction. Was it his object to offer up in the Holy City, to God, the thanksgivings of his heart for the preservation and blessing vouchsafed to his own person and to his office? It cannot be supposed that from such purely personal reasons alone St Paul should have once more determined to visit Jerusalem, and still less, supposing this to have been the case, that St Luke should have described it so circumstantially and so fully as he yet does. Is it not quite as natural to assume that St Paul may have felt himself

constrained to give himself to the Church at Jerusalem, a vivid and accurate report of all that had been commenced in the world of the Gentiles, and of all that had been carried to a promising close there. The more thoroughly St Paul was convinced that in this admission of the Gentiles into the kingdom of God, such as had been recently effected by his own means in Asia and Europe, a mystery of God which had been long hidden, was made manifest (see Ephes. iii. 1—12), the more important it must have appeared to him that this revelation of the Divine mystery should be communicated directly, that by his own mouth to the Jewish Church in Jerusalem—that mother of all the Churches. And how could St Paul perform this duty more effectually than by bringing, if possible, before the Church at Jerusalem, living representatives of this Divine grace from every region in which he had laboured among the Gentiles? Such men from among the Gentiles afar, in whom every one possessing spiritual discernment could recognise the method and the power of the new life, must have been looked upon in the Church of Jerusalem as the most vivid and the most incontrovertible testimonies to that revelation of the great mystery of God. Such an exhibition of converted heathendom, presented by the Apostle Paul, was the practical attestation and confirmation of the correctness of that solution of the Judaising controversy which had been formerly promulgated in the bosom of the Church of Jerusalem. For, according to the teaching of their Apostle, these Gentiles stand in full freedom of faith and of the Spirit, and they come to Jerusalem from a yearning longing after an union and connection with that Church of the people of God, which, in the holy city, offered worship and did honour to the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, after the manner of their fathers, when meditating on his Word. No doubt the Apostle had first and foremost in his eye the Church of the believers in Jerusalem; we have, however, seen too much of his national feelings and associations to suppose it for one moment to be possible that he could on this occasion have left out of his consideration the great multitude of the unbelieving people in Jerusalem. That the mass of his countrymen were hardened and obdurate, had been made quite plain to him in the clearest manner possible, on a very recent occasion at Corinth; and in this very place he had ex-

pressed at length, even to the Roman Church, his sentiments regarding the lamentable condition of the majority of the Jews. We have already seen clearly enough that, notwithstanding, he cannot, in his thoughts and hopes lose sight of his people. Might we not, therefore, expect that, in this journey to Jerusalem which St Paul proposed to take after the conclusion of his preliminary labours among the Gentiles, there was included some particular object of these thoughts and hopes in reference to the people of Israel? In his Epistle to the Romans, which he wrote shortly before the commencement of his return to Jerusalem; with regard to the Gentiles, he, like Moses, lays down as the last hope for obdurate Israel the provocation to zeal by a people who were no people, and declares that, by this, he understood that wholesome influence on Israel which the conversion of the heathen was to bring about (x. 19, xi. 13, 14). And as regarded the final turning-point in the history of Israel; this idea assumed such a shape that he held that a universal and fundamental conversion of his people would take place as soon as the fulness of the Gentiles should be accomplished (xi. 25, 26). Now, since the Apostle did not suppose that this future of his people would be brought about without any intervening agency, and independently of any connection with the existing state of things, he naturally regarded his own actual efforts among the heathen as subordinate to this great end of the total conversion of the Gentiles. How, then, could it be possible that at the present stage which his efforts among the heathen had reached, this reference to Israel should not have presented itself very strongly to his thoughts, nor have influenced him in reference to this proposed design of visiting Jerusalem, the centre and capital of his nation and people? In fact St Paul was thoroughly convinced that he had spread the Gospel and the knowledge of Jesus Christ everywhere from the environs of Jerusalem as far as the limits of barbarism and the western sea of Achaia; he was also aware that even in Rome, the still more distant metropolis of the world, the Gospel, through the spirit of grace, had already found a firm footing (Rom. i. 8; xv. 14). In a certain sense the coming in of the fulness of the Gentiles had actually taken place. Under such circumstances would the Apostle omit to represent to the people of Israel, in the most vivid manner possible, this great fact in the Divine history of sal-

vation, which had been consummated in the world of the Gentiles, in order to try whether their hard hearts might not be softened by this manifest turning of God unto the heathen. This, at least, would be a new offer of Divine grace although all the previous exhortations had only tended to produce some new form of more violent hostility. By this peculiar turn of things, though one which had been pointed out from ancient times, it became possible for St Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, to address himself to the Jewish people at the very time when the Apostles of Israel were on the point of abandoning the chosen people as stiff-necked and obstinate, and of devoting themselves to the conversion of the heathen.

If, therefore, in taking with him all the above-named companions, St Paul had in view as his chief object, the presenting a living representation of the Gentile world thus converted to the living God, first of all to the community of believers in Jerusalem, but in the next place also to the whole of the hardened and perverse population of the Holy City; to the former, that they might be strengthened and established in the faith; to the latter, that they might be moved to repentance and change of heart—we are able also to see why, in the enumeration (with the exception of the already well-known Timothy), their descent and origin is notified. It is intended that we should observe that amongst those named, three are Europeans and four Asiatics. For if, in the passage itself which we are considering, two only are denominated (*Ἀσιανοί*) arises from the strictly official sense in which the word Asia is employed in the Acts; or, if we adhere still more closely to the course of the narrative itself, we shall find that it gives us three distinct classes which belong to the three distinct fields of the Apostle's labours. The first three form a class, and represent European Greece; the two following form a second class, and bring before us the first region in which the Apostle had laboured, the remoter parts, namely, of Asia Minor; finally, the two last, which constitute the third class, belong, as *Ἀσιανοί*, to the last scene of the Apostle's missionary operations—to Ephesus, the capital of Asia, in the narrow sense of the word —as also follows from xxi. 29, where Trophimus is called an Ephesian, and also from Ephes. vi. 21, where Tychicus appears to be connected with the Ephesian Church. And from all this

it becomes, at the same time, clear why no mention is here made of Silas, although we must, without doubt, conclude that he also accompanied St Paul. For Silas, as having come originally from Jerusalem, could not well be a representative of the Gentile Church.

After all that has preceded, we cannot well pass over the number itself, without giving to it some consideration. Was it merely accidental that seven men were here ranged around the Apostle of the Gentiles, precisely as on a former occasion the seven deacons, in Jerusalem surrounded the twelve Apostles of Israel?—a number which, in the case of the seven deacons, had so deeply imprinted itself on the memory of the Church, that St Luke, when in the further course of his narrative, he had occasion to speak of the deacons, calls them simply and without further explanation "the Seven" (see xxi. 18). What, if it is possible to trace a reference in the present seven who were intended to serve as the representatives of the Gentile Church? And, in fact, our book does itself furnish a hint of this kind, and the contemporaneous epistles of the Apostle makes us to follow out this hint in such a manner as to justify us in assuming the actual existence of such a reference. But we cannot enter more fully into the investigation connected with this matter, without, first of all, noticing the suspicions of the critics which here cross our path. They have based their attack on the passage xix. 21, 22, where St Paul, in the midst of his labours at Ephesus, announces his intention of going to Jerusalem. These critics perceive rightly enough that neither in the present place, nor afterwards, do the Acts of the Apostles concern themselves very much with these efforts of the Apostle in Macedonia and Achaia, of which, however, the epistles of St Paul are so full; and they are also right in maintaining that there is only so much the more cause for being anxious to know what is the object which is given out by the Acts for this journey to Jerusalem, that, for the sake of it, the unquestionably important labours of St Paul in Macedonia and Achaia, should be pushed into the background. And they imagine that, from certain intimations, they can discover that the history of the Acts sets forth this object as nothing more nor less than the performance of certain religious rites and ceremonies ordained by the law.

The performance, however, of such legal observances by the Apostle St Paul, in Jerusalem, appears to them so incredible, that they affect to trace in this account the direct influence of the historian's own subjective views, and in this case of his Judaistic bias :—in other words, they pretend to see in it a complete perversion of the truth in favour of certain prejudices, and of the tendencies founded upon them. In this way the critics would probably have arrived at a total denial of the fact of the Apostle's journey to Jerusalem, if the Pauline epistles of this date did not allude to such a journey. But from these authentic explanations of the Apostle himself relatively to his journey, these critics fancy they do but obtain a sure footing for assailing the credibility of the history on this point. It is, that is to say, acknowledged that St Paul in his epistles (comp. 1 Cor. xvi. 1—3 ; 2 Cor. viii. and ix. ; Rom. xv. 25, 33) gives it out as the object of his journey to Jerusalem the carrying thither the amount of the collections made in the Churches of Galatia, Macedonia, and Achaia. Now, it must not for a moment be denied that the Acts of the Apostles do contain at least one indubitable trace of the matter of the collections (namely, xxiv. 17), but still, it is not to be gainsaid that this aspect of the journey to Jerusalem retires into the background, and, therefore, it is supposed by these critics, that they are perfectly justified in seeing, in the stress laid on the reference to the sanctuary (see xxiv. 11 ; conf. viii. 27 ; to the feast of Pentecost, xx. 16) nothing but a so-called conciliatory or apologetic device of the author's (see Schneckenburger Zweck der Apostolgeschichte 67—69 ; Zeller Theolog. Jahrbuch 1849, 548—550).

This disposition to cast suspicion on our narrative, here also arises from a source which we have before alluded to ; certain correct observations, which, however, instead of being placed in their true relation to the whole history, are torn from their context, and thereby distorted, and thereupon these several passages are shown to be irreconcileable with each other. On the one hand, the intimations given by the history of the Apostles concerning the act of worship, and the solemn festivals observed by St Paul, are torn apart from the connection in which they stand with that whole system of development of which they are a part ; and, on the other hand, the explanations which the Apostle gives

in his Epistles on the subject of these collections made by the Gentile Churches are considered as much as possible from an external point of view, and quite irrespectively of the internal object which they were intended to promote. By such a procedure the contradiction is forthwith made ready to hand. As soon, however, as this atomistic caprice on both sides is avoided, and a unity of purpose earnestly searched for, the most perfect harmony is at once perceived to exist between them. First of all, with respect to the passage in the Epistle to the Romans, as addressed to a Church which took no part in the matter, it is in the highest degree summary, and does not enter in the least into particulars. And yet, from ver. 31, we perceive that this carrying of the gifts to the saints at Jerusalem is considered so important by the Apostle that he even requires the distant Church of Rome to remember the subject in their prayers. How could St Paul have taken this view of the matter if nothing more was at stake than the offering of gifts for alleviating the destitution of the poorer members of the Church at Jerusalem? and if its object was not rather the realisation of the bond of unity between the two great branches and halves of the one Church of Christ? More clearly still, and yet more distinctly, does this view present itself in the First Epistle to the Corinthians. There we see St Paul declaring it advisable that the Churches themselves should choose certain persons from among them who should personally carry these gifts to Jerusalem. At that time he had not yet finally determined on going himself to the Holy City, still it was quite a settled point with him that these deputies of the Churches should go to Jerusalem; and in case he should not be able to accompany them, he intended to furnish them with a letter. From all this it follows still more distinctly that the chief point in these gifts was to realise a personal exhibition of the spirit of love on the part of the heathen Churches towards that of Jerusalem. This same thought that the representatives of the Church should themselves collect and carry these offerings, is also steadily maintained by St Paul in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (viii. 18—22). Here, moreover, the Apostle's own idea of the matter is brought out quite distinctly. In these gifts of love on the part of the Gentile communities to the Church of the Jews in Jerusalem, he would have us see the perfection of the faithful on the earth,

and he regards them as the highest joy of the grace of God among the Churches (ix. 12—15).

Every mention of the collections in the Epistles points out to us the necessity of a personal communication between the believing Gentiles and the believing Jews; a measure which the Apostle evidently wishes, by every means, to bring about. Now, an especially high estimate of the Church at Jerusalem lies at the bottom of these thoughts. The Apostle calls the believers in Jerusalem whom he purposes to benefit with these collections, briefly "the saints" (1 Cor. xvi. 1; 2 Cor. viii. 4; ix. 1—12; Rom. xv. 25, 26, 31). Moreover, it is not at all doubtful to what this distinguished appellation refers. In this connection of ideas, namely, St Paul (as he himself declares, Rom. xv. 27), looks on the Church in Jerusalem as that from which all spiritual gifts had flowed on the world of the Gentiles—to which, consequently, all the heathen Churches were indebted (comp. 2 Cor. viii. 13); just as in (1 Thess. ii. 14), he considers the Churches in Judea as the original and true stem of the Church, to which the Gentile Church in Europe had united itself. Are not, therefore, such ideas of the exclusive importance of the Church in Jerusalem sufficient to originate that veneration for the Holy City, which would lead the Apostle, supposing any other duty did not interfere, to direct thither his views and his wishes?

How, then, do the accounts given in the Acts of the Apostles stand relatively to this conclusion? Now, to dwell, first of all, on the last-mentioned point; our narrative unquestionably contains hints enough concerning such a desire on the part of the Apostle to pay its due respect to the holy place and city of Jerusalem, and likewise to its holy seasons (xx. 16; xxiv. 11; comp. xviii. 21). But it is wholly false to assert that in the passage (xix. 21, 22), this desire is given out as the determining motive. A far juster inference from this passage is, that a review of the extent and importance of his Apostolical office was the reason of the Apostle's determination. And this consideration is allowed by our narrative, as we shall presently see, to stand out quite patently and indubitably in the address of the Apostle to the elders of Ephesus. Consequently, of this purely individual motive of his journey there is nothing more said in our book than we have every reason, from the Epistles, to look for in it. But further,

as respects the chief object of the Apostle's journey to Jerusalem, when once we have taken into consideration the whole procedure which our book, designedly and with distinct purpose, has sketched before us, we shall be led to the very same conclusion which the information contained in the Epistles reveals to us still more definitely. For since it is clearly set forth that the very moment that St Paul had brought to a preliminary close his duties, both in Asiatic and in European Greece, he determined to go to Jerusalem; to judge from the whole of that development which is here historically described, his object could not well have been other than that of awakening and promoting a conviction of unity and brotherhood between these two opposite branches of the Church—in that branch especially where such feelings were most wanting, and where, nevertheless, they ought to exist in the greatest strength, namely, in Jerusalem. If, then, the history of the Apostles draws attention to the circumstance of a body of men from the different countries in which St Paul had laboured accompanying him on this journey to Jerusalem; it has, in this way, recorded the most effectual means of bringing about that state of mind and feeling in Jerusalem which Paul has declared to be the final object of the collections. Further, as regards the mention of the collections themselves; we must, in the first place, recall to mind how impressively our narrative describes the sending of the first collections made by the Church of Antioch by the hands of Barnabas and Paul to Jerusalem (xi. 27—30; xii. 25). But now the whole heathen Church in both parts of Asia Minor, as well as in European Greece, is in truth nothing else than the enlargement of the Church of Antioch, as in fact all three of these fields of faith had, according to the account given in our book, owed their cultivation to Antioch. Consequently, the visit of St Paul to Jerusalem, in company with men from all the three regions, was only a repetition of the journey thither of Barnabas and Paul from Antioch Now could the former come with empty hands when the first ambassadors of the mother Church of all the heathen Churches had brought with them a gift and offering in attestation of their spirit of love and brotherhood? Might we not, under these circumstances, nay, are we not rather bound, to regard the number seven of the companions of St Paul as intended to recall that of the

seven deacons of Jerusalem, who had collected the due offerings of the Gentile Church, and now carried them to the poor, that is to say, to the saints in Jerusalem, as formerly the deacons conveyed to the poor and the widows, the gifts of the rich in the Holy City. And this conclusion is the more directly suggested to us, the more commonly in the phraseology of our book the term *διακονία* is used to express the ministerial services rendered in alien Churches as well as in that of Jerusalem (see xi. 29; xii. 25).

The state of the question is consequently such, that that is expressly and plainly averred in the explanations of the Apostle (xxiv. 17), which most consistently with the whole connection and process of the history, immediately suggests itself as the probable object of the journey of St Paul to Jerusalem, and that which is pointed out by the analogy of the gifts sent from Antioch to the Holy City, and also by the number seven of the companions of St Paul. Consequently, we must look upon the seven companions of St Paul not only as presenting themselves before the Church at Jerusalem, as representatives of the Gentile converts of the wide sphere of Christianity in the heathen world, but also as bearers of the offerings which had been collected from these several Gentile Churches. Now, our narrative goes on to tell us, these persons take their departure from Philippi for Asia Minor. We know not, indeed, for what reason they took this course, but probably the object they had in view was to prepare further for, and to bring about, a representation as full as possible of the whole Gentile Church.

Inasmuch, however, as St Luke had already made sufficient announcements of this object of the journey to Jerusalem, he did not consider it requisite expressly to state what, with the same design, was done in addition in Asia Minor. However, on the other hand, he is disposed to claim of us a moment's attention to the delay of the Apostle in Philippi (ver. 6). Since we here again meet the word *ἡμεῖς* after losing sight of it, in chap. xvii., it is a very obvious course to suppose that St Luke had remained at Philippi till St Paul began his solemn journey to Jerusalem in his character of Apostle of the Gentiles. On this journey St Luke has also joined them; he too, as a representative of the converted Gentile Christendom (cf. Coloss. i. 14; cf. ver. 10). When we are now told that St Paul did not commence his

journey from Philippi till after the days of unleavened bread (see ver. 6), it is doubtless intended to intimate to us that the Apostle suspended his journey out of respect to this festival (see Meyer ad. loc.). And if the critics are disposed to pronounce this consideration for a Jewish feast to be Judaism, and consequently hold it to be incredible (see Schneckenburger, Zweck der Apostol. gesch. p. 69), this judgment springs from an erroneous view (already refuted) concerning St Paul's idea of freedom; and, moreover, we can appeal to an expression of the Apostle himself, in which he expressly intimates his reverence for the Jewish festivals, namely, the passage (1 Cor. xvi. 8). Certainly the allusion to the feast of Easter, cannot have been intended either as a chronological or as a biographical notice, but rather to draw our attention to the significance of the time which followed, and to its close, in reference to the journey of the Apostle. We cannot, indeed, but be struck by the marked attention (otherwise quite unusual with our historian) which, in the following narrative, he pays to the course and lapse of particular days. Whence does this arise? Was it perhaps from the fact that St Luke was himself present in all these transactions? But we have seen that neither the absence of the writer ever induces him to be less particular, nor on the other hand does his presence ever make him more attentive to details; and that, on the contrary, throughout his narrative, it is the nature of the matter itself which alone determines his method of treating it. The conclusion which Wieseler, treading in the steps of Anger, has drawn from the account of the numbers contained in the narrative, is this, that St Paul reached the temple in Jerusalem by Pentecost (see Chronolog. des Apostol. Zeitalters p. 102—110). This calculation has intrinsic probability in its favour, from the simple fact that St Luke speaks of it as the avowed object of the Apostle to arrive in Jerusalem by Pentecost (ver. 16). As we are not told that he failed in accomplishing his design, it is a matter of antecedent probability that this wish was accomplished. When, therefore, the commencement of a certain period is described as the beginning of the days of unleavened bread, and its end as the Feast of Pentecost, we immediately understand what this exact calculation is intended to signify. The period is thereby specified to be that which is invariably fixed by the reckoning prescribed by the law, of seven weeks, together

with the close of the fiftieth day (see vol. 1. p. 41). This calculation of St Luke refers us back, not only to the numbering of the days in Israel, but also to the reckoning, so full of expectation, to the firstlings of the Church in the period after the ascension of the Lord. Do we not then, also, observe herein, once more, a new feature? How significant is this allusion with reference to the present journey of the Apostle and his companions! Once before had St Paul travelled to Jerusalem for the feast of Pentecost, when his labours in the Greecian Islands had been brought to a satisfactory preliminary close. That which, on the former occasion, determined him individually, moves at the present time the Apostle in his public relation to the whole Gentile Church. All that which, on the first Pentecost of the Spirit had taken place in regard to the conversion of the Gentiles as a mere type of the future, must now, on the Pentecost which was here in prospect, appear as actually realized. The nations whose tongues, on the first feast of Pentecost, appeared consecrated by the songs of praise uttered by the Church of the first fruits, now come before us as a matter of history in the persons of their representatives, and praise the God of Israel; and inasmuch as they offer gifts for the destitute in Israel, they thereby offer themselves also unto God as their Apostle had declared to them (2 Cor. viii. 5). This period, consequently, between the departure of St Paul from the first European Church to his arrival in the Holy City, blessed of God, is a holy season of harvest, in which the Churches of the Gentiles round about are gathered in for the God of Israel with their prayers and their firstlings (Rom. xv. 30). And St Luke, moreover, has not omitted to impress upon our minds the sacred character of this period by the most vivid features.

Among these we place the account which is given us of the Apostle's sojourn in Troas. This is the spot on which St Paul was for the first time moved by a Divine vision to prolong his travels (xi. 9), and where, also on a second occasion, owing to his own uneasiness of mind, he was prevented from profiting by a favourable opportunity for evangelical exertion offered to him (2 Cor. ii. 12, 13). This consideration, too, readily explains how it was that, notwithstanding his haste, St Paul nevertheless determined to spend seven days at Troas, the place where he had received the Divine call to pass over into Europe. The

number of seven days must be so much the more deserving of remark, both because this very same number of days is again twice before emphatically mentioned on two other occasions in this journey (xxi. 4, 27), and also because, as we have seen, St Luke, on account of the reference of this period to the subject matter of his history, has adopted in his own way, the accurate number of days, which for this season of time was usual with the Jews. Now, the reckoning of these days, according to the prescription of the law, is properly a number of seven weeks (Levit. xiii. 15). This is also consistent with the Jewish practice, who, while they count the number of days, at the same time keep in mind the number of the weeks until the period of time between Easter and Pentecost is over (see Reland Antiq, Sacræ p. 440; Buxtorf Synag. Judaeor. p. 440; Lundius, die alten jüdischen Heiligthümer p. 1018). Now, a scene is described to us during this sojourn of St Paul at Troas, which has evidently been chosen for the purpose of presenting us with a vivid picture of the existing condition of the Church in that place, and also of the relations subsisting between the Apostle and it, at this important crisis. In the first place, it is remarked, that the day of the solemn departure, which it is intended to be vividly realized by us, was the first day of the week ἡ μίατῶνσαββάτων (see Winer Grammatik p. 287.) Meyer considers it possible, and Neander takes the same view of the matter (see Geschichte der Pflanzung i. p. 208), that the coincidence of this festival with this day was purely accidental; but this hypothesis is simply for this reason quite untenable, that the solemnity of this day is the only ground we can find why St Luke should have considered it necessary to specify it. For, if the first day of the week had not in itself some peculiar claim on our attention, what ever could have induced St Luke, at the very commencement of his narrative, to remark, that what he was about to relate took place on the first day of the week, and on no other? In my opinion, we have here a perfectly trustworthy trace of the observance of Sunday in the Christian Church, from which alone it must be considered probable, that we can trace this observance up to the very earliest times of the Church, (see Augusti. Denkwürdigkeiten aus der christlichen Archeolog. iii. 348—361; Schöne Geschichtsforschung üb. der

kirchlichen Gebrauchen i. 335—342), so that it would appear to have been already adopted and sanctioned in the times of the Apostles. Now, Neander remarks very justly, that we must consider this festival as originating with the Gentile Christians (see Geschichte d. Pflanz. i. 209) since the Churches of the Jewish Christians would naturally adhere to that of the Jewish Sabbath. And this observance of Sunday as a festival is, indeed, a very characteristic feature in the Gentile Churches. Primarily, it evinces a consciousness of that freedom from the law, which bound men to the celebration of the last day of the week as a festival. This obligatory power of the law was occasionally asserted in the Church of the Apostles, but St Paul always declared himself in the most decided manner opposed to it (Gal. iv. 9—11; Col. ii. 16); and this conviction of the inconsistency between Christian freedom and the legal observance of the Sabbath continued in the strongest force in the Church, even in the post-Apostolic age (see Barnabas c. 15; Ignat and Magnes. c. 9, und 10). Now, in the circumstance that the Gentile Church had conscientiously freed itself from the obligation of the law concerning the Sabbath, it showed its living faith in Jesus, who had proclaimed Himself to be Lord of the Sabbath (Mark ii. 28). On the other hand, however, it was also shown that communities, no more than individuals, are exempted from the observance of times on account of the deliverance effected for them by Christ; and, accordingly, even for the new life an ordinance of times was necessary. Now, since the Gentile Churches, under the reservation above noticed of ther freedom and independence, nevertheless subjected themselves to the legal ordinance, and kept holy every seventh day, according to the prescribed order; they, on the other hand, displayed their willingness to submit to the laws and custom of the people of God in the regulation of their ordinances. Consequently, in this transference of the festival from the seventh to the first day of the week, there is, as even Athanasius (Augusti ibid. S. 347) describes it, in the Sunday festival discernible the element of the independence and freedom of the Gentile Churches on the one hand; and on the other, that of their willingness to regulate their ordinances in deference to the laws and manners of the chosen people of God. Since, then, the festival of the Sunday, in all essential

points, determined in these Churches their festivals, and, moreover, regulated their whole system of Church times and seasons, so this regulation, which we here meet with for the first time, is of the very highest importance. We see in it the far-reaching commencement of a normal system in the Church of the Gentiles, which confined itself entirely within those limits which had been laid down by the great assembly at Jerusalem for all times of the Gentile Church. Now, while we recollect that the dispute about Easter, in the first centuries of the Church, was composed and arranged in perfect accordance with this Apostolic spirit of Christian freedom and moderation, we cannot fail to notice how, at a later period, after the combination between Church and State had taken place, this element of freedom and independence, in the establishment of ecclesiastical ordinances, was more and more lost sight of, while at the same time, also, the other side of sound development appears to be more and more disturbed. So much the more important and significant, therefore, must the heirloom of the Apostolic observance of the Sabbath appear to us, since we possess therein a fixed principle for the normal settlement of so many anomalous observances which have sprung up within the Church.

With regard, also, to the immediate context of the passage before us, we must not allow the circumstance to escape, that by this mention of the observance of the festival of Sunday by a community of Gentile Christians, we become aware of the due observance of that direction for the regulation of ecclesiastical order which, according to the decree of the Assembly at Jerusalem, was to be the standard for the regulation of all the Gentile communities. By this we are led even to observe that, in the domain of the heathen Christians, a firm foundation for the future was laid, and that it was in order to convey this result to Jerusalem in the most palpable manner possible, that St Paul travelled with his companions to the holy city.

Now the Sunday here spoken of had been consecrated at Troas for a solemn assembly, in which "bread was to be broken." This is the first time since the description (given in the beginning) of the Church at Jerusalem (see ii. 42, 46), that in the course of our history we have met with this expression and this

custom. And for this very reason: the very first reflection that this mention of it suggests, is the fact that, although we here find ourselves in the midst of the far wilderness of heathendom, we have to suppose the existence of the same form and mode of expression of the glorious and marvellous life of the Spirit as we noticed in the Apostolic Church at Jerusalem immediately after its rise and foundation by the Spirit of God. When we realize to our minds still more thoroughly all that is contained in this custom of breaking bread as adopted by the Church of Jerusalem, this parallel acquires a still higher significance. By this solemn breaking of bread the Church at Jerusalem represents itself as a family and household meeting together at the same table; and this custom was founded consequently on the lively consciousness and enduring impression of the new life, in which all believers had been created by one and the same Spirit of God. and thereby had been formed into one family and brotherhood (see vol. i. p. 79, 80). We must, consequently, see in this fact of the breaking of bread at Troas, a proof that even here, in the Gentile city, the same Divine Spirit had created the same new life, which took man out of his natural state of division and strife, and placed him in a new, living, and actual brotherhood. But here also another element comes in; for the members of the Church of Troas are not represented to us as being the only constituents of the community, but as associated with others who were partly from Europe, partly from Asia, and partly belonging to the other peoples of the heathen world, and partly to the Jewish people, which, at any rate can be truly said of St Paul, though probably also of others who were there present, as doubtless was the case with Silas. Now, that power of the Holy Spirit which can thus remove all natural contrarieties, and change the external division into unity and brotherhood, has already, in the course of this history, been exhibited to us several times, and in a very striking manner, but never and nowhere so palpably as in the present instance. For this sitting down at the same table, is in the language of Scripture, the representation and realization of the highest and most perfect degree of fellowship among men (Ps. xxii. 20; Matt. vii. 11; Luke xxii. 30; conf. v. 18). Here for the first time in the course of our history do Barbarians and Greeks, Asiatics and Europeans, Jews and Heathens, sit

down at the same table, and are united in the spirit of communion and harmony. We have, moreover, in this breaking of bread, found an important allusion to the communion with the Lord and the sacramental realisation of this communion (see vol i. p. 79, 80). We have no ground for looking at the matter here in Troas and at Jerusalem in a different light, since from 1 Cor. xi., we clearly see, that even in the Gentile Church the communion meal was usually associated with the Holy Supper of the Lord. Accordingly, from this notice of the bread-breaking, it appears to us that this Gentile community in Troas, together with St Paul and the companions of his journey, were placed in immediate communion with the Lord, and that this representation must produce in us the conviction of an actual accomplishment of the kingdom of God in the Gentile world.

With this view agrees also all that is further stated in relation to those who celebrated this festival at Troas. Of St Paul it is said, that he conversed much and long with them (*αὐτοῖς*), namely, with the assembled members of the community of Troas. The nature and character of this conversation of the Apostle is manifested by the use of the expressions *διαλέγεσθαι* (vv. 7, 9), and *ὁμιλεῖν*, (ver. 11) is described exactly in the light, that after the allusions above given to the position of the Church, and the mode of their coming together, we should naturally be led to expect. What for instance, is meant, is not the solemn address, for the purpose of doctrine or exhortation, but a friendly and confidential communication. We know, besides of the solemn formal addresses of the Apostles that they aimed at brevity (1 Pet. v. 12; Heb. xiii. 22). Consequently, a consciousness of hearty fellowship formed pre-eminently the ground of this friendly converse with those assembled. St Paul recognised in that assembly a church formed by the Spirit of God, and in this conviction does he address them. Our attention is, however, drawn to the fact that this discourse of the Apostle was prolonged far into the night, and it is doubtless intended that we should recognise herein the spirituality and vivid nature of this intercourse between the Apostle and the Church at Troas. The Apostle is so full of joy and heartfelt emotion on account of the Church, that his tongue overflows with loving, confiding, and encouraging words, and the Church is so full of

longing for, and takes such pleasure in, these words of Apostolic wisdom and friendliness, that in this holy converse the hours pass unheeded by either. While, then, this bond of holy and blessed companionship appears to have been dissolved from the bonds of earthly wants and weakness, all at once they are again reminded of the imperfection and weakness of human nature even within the range of so heavenly a life. And in these very moments, when the outpouring of the holy and blessed Spirit was filling all hearts, a young man allowed the weakness of the flesh to overcome him. Overpowered by sleep, he fell from an upper storey to the ground and was killed (ver. 9). Was not this a judgment of God on such carnal indifference and security? It was a very easy thing to view in such a light the cause of this interruption of such heavenly conversation and sublime communion; but we do not find that this was the view taken of it either by the Apostle or by the assembly. The living and fervent spirit which reigned in and actuated this society was no spirit of bigotry, but the spirit of love and humility. Accordingly, this sad incident of human frailty did not prove a disturbance to them, but rather furnished them with an occasion for the further manifestation of that holy and divine life which was comprised within its sphere. St Paul, as soon as he was aware of the accident, left off speaking, and going down threw himself on the body of the young man, and said, "Trouble not yourselves, for his life is in him" (ver. 10). The new school of commentators are disposed so to interpret these words as if St Paul had meant to assert that the young man was not really dead, but had been erroneously supposed to be so; a view which has led Olshausen to make the startling admission: "the incident narrated in vv. 7—12 is, in itself, of little importance; it is, however interesting, in so far as it furnishes us with an instance of the early Christians meeting together at night for the purposes of worship, and also as it proves the existence at this time of the sacred observance of the Sunday." We must, that is to say, console ourselves for the trivial notice of the whole account of Eutyches by those collateral and (so-called) interesting notices of the Apostolical age, and yet go on to consider the history of the Apostles to be a holy and inspired book. For my part, I must confess that I cannot hold the two ideas to be at all compatible. It

is deserving of remark that that school of exegesis which has again made it its object to assume and to point out the existence in our history of an end and aim, although a false one—of one spirit, although an erroneous one—has been the first to return to the right path as regards the true understanding of the present passage. Justly does Schneckenburger (see Zweck der Apostolgeschichte S. 54, 55) and Zeller (see theolog. Jahrb. 1849 551) advance the assertion that the words ἤρθη νεκρός (ver. 4) do not express the opinion of those present (which would require an ὡς) but that of the narrator, and that the proceedings of St Paul with the fallen youth are not those of one enquiring into the matter, but such as remind us of parallel instances both in the Old and in the New Testament of the resuscitation of the dead (see 2 Kings iv. 34; 1 Kings xvii. 17—21; Acts ix. 40; Matt. ix. 25). The words of St Paul, "his life is in him," must be interpreted in conformity with the views of the ancient commentators, and we must suppose that, by them, St Paul wished to assert his being recalled to life by means of his touch and miraculous power. In these words, too, the last trace disappears of all that is calculated to disturb their feelings, if only we further reflect that it was evidently the intention of the Apostle to let this unfortunate incident appear as a point of momentary importance. In the natural order of things there is no shock more severe and more painful, and at the same time, also, more irreparable, than a case of sudden death. Such an agitating event has here taken place, and the whole assembly is affected by it. On this occasion, however, it must be made evident, that in such a sphere (in which the Holy Ghost is present), as is even here represented to us, the very weakness of nature must be overcome, and that no essential disturbance or restriction of life can be effected even by the last enemy—death. This is a revelation of the same miraculous power of God to raise the dead—and by it the Church of Jesus is set up as the domain of an immortal life—as on a former occasion we had an instance of it within the Jewish Church (see vol. i. p. 256). Accordingly, in the present passage, it is highly significant that the Gentile Church appears to be partaker of the same Divine power of life as we have already discerned in the Church of the Jews, and that St Paul also, the Apostle of the Gentiles, is

depicted as endowed with the same miraculous life-giving energy as we have seen working so efficiently in St Peter the Apostle of the Jews. We are so far from wishing to gain-say the parallelism of the cases to which the modern critics here appeal (see Schneckenburger S. 55; Baur d. Apostel Paulus p. 192), that we even recognize in this an important element of the narrative we are considering. But then, it is scarcely worth while to observe, that, with this recognition of the parallelism, the ground for casting suspicions upon our narrative (for the sake of which alone these parallel instances possess an interest for our critics) fall entirely to the ground.

From what follows the account of this accident, it becomes still clearer how perfectly this disturbing shock was overcome. For now came the most solemn act of this whole meeting—the breaking and eating of bread, which St Paul begins, in order to give the signal to all present to do so (ver. 11). And when the assembly had, by so doing, strengthened themselves afresh, St Paul proceeded again with his address, and the same mutual confidence and intimacy recurred as had before prevailed. And this lasted till break of day, so that, immediately upon leaving the assembly, the Apostle was able to start upon his journey (ver. 11). In this place, consequently, the night had been rendered a time of holy and blessed communion, and death had been made an occasion for the manifestation of eternal life. And, therefore, there is no ground for wondering, if the Church at Troas was comforted by these events. Here, consequently, nothing is said of sorrow for the departure of the Apostle. Here the operation of the eternal Spirit had so displayed its illimitable power, that all feelings and emotions connected with the mere changes of time and place, appear to have been entirely suppressed. Finally, in the midst of all these great and glorious signs of the Spirit and of grace within the domain of the Gentiles, we must not overlook the fact, that the Church of Troas cannot justly be considered as one founded immediately by St Paul; but we must ascribe its rise to the influential effect of his labours in Ephesus. So much the more entirely must we consider the new holy and blessed life that we here witness, as the work of God and the Holy Spirit.

When we are further told that the travelling companions of

St Paul, with whom St Luke joins himself (ver. 13), embarked on ship-board, and sailed to Assos, with the intention of there taking on board St Paul, who, in the meantime, had travelled thither on foot, the supposition which we have already advanced is confirmed. We see, that is to say, that St Luke alone did not go with St Paul to Jerusalem; for the companions whom St Luke speaks of, as of persons already known, cannot well be any other than those previously commemorated by name (see ver. 4). For we cannot, with Olshausen, assume as a ground for St Paul's travelling alone, that he wished to enjoy for a little while longer the society of those Christians of Troas. For why should St Luke have omitted to notice this object; and why should he at the end have separated himself from all his companions? He made the journey on foot, while all his companions went by ship, simply in order to be alone. That St Paul, that is to say, must have been much and often occupied with his own thoughts, is easily conceivable, considering the existing circumstances. We are, moreover, expressly led to this very conclusion, by the language of our historian himself. For under such circumstances a very pressing necessity for solitude would arise, from the very close intercourse he had held with others during the last seven days, and even on the last night. The continuation of the journey from Assos, which was performed on shipboard, carried them in their course by the three great islands of Chios, Lesbos, and Samos (vv. 14, 15). That St Luke does not neglect to mention these names, although they do but serve to indicate the course of the voyage, must be regarded by us as an intimation that we have to view the Apostle and his companions as coming from that quarter, unto which of old, the future of the history of nations, and the commencement of the conversion of the heathen, had been assigned.

Since the original design of the Apostle had been to visit Syria also (ver. 3), doubtless he must likewise have had it in contemplation to visit Ephesus, his last longer station. The plotting of the Jews, however, prevented his carrying out this design, and he was constrained not only to give up his intended visit to Antioch, but also to Ephesus. Had he been able to go to the latter place, we may suppose that he would have remained for some considerable time in that great city, and the Church

there. But here St Luke expressly tells us that St Paul wished to be at Jerusalem by the Feast of Pentecost (ver. 16). The more distinctly it is shown that his object at this time was to exhibit in Jerusalem for the first time the wide field over which the newly risen Churches of the Gentiles extended, the more intelligible does this wish become, and consequently, the more mistaken must the ideas of the critics on this subject appear. But as we can also readily comprehend that St Paul would not willingly go to Jerusalem without having first visited, if possible, the Ephesian Church, which formed the centre of all the Churches in Western Asia (see xix. 10), it is only the easier to see that no alternative was left him but to send for the presidents of the Ephesian Churches to Miletus. This was done, and it was before these leaders and representatives of the Church at Ephesus that St Paul delivered the address which St Luke has given us in full (ver. 18—35).

This speech, in truth, has not escaped the suspicions and attacks of the critics (see Baur Pastoralbriefe p. 92—94; Schneckenburger Zweck der Apostelgeschichte S. 133—140; Baur der Apostel Paul, S. 177—181. Zeller ibid p. 581—855); and in truth it has been exposed to attacks of such a kind that, whereas Schneckenburger, notwithstanding he discovers in it many subjective influences, does not consider the historical character of the speech essentially damaged (p. 135), yet Zeller (p. 355), allows no portion of the speech to escape his attacks. But nothing more in this case is necessary than actually to test the chief points of the speech, and to take a comprehensive view of their historical connection with the existing circumstances, both near and remote, and we shall then find every statement not only perfectly intelligible, but we shall also obtain, even in this contested field, a fresh confirmation of the historical veracity of our book, in all that it has transmitted to us.

It will serve to help us in these investigations—a happy circumstance, indeed, which has not unfrequently fallen to our lot in the course of these investigations—that these critics direct our attention occasionally to points which are of importance both for the right understanding of the speech itself, and also for convincing us of the perfect credibility of the narrative. By the way of preface, I will notice a single point for the purpose of

demonstrating the unsteadiness of the procedure which these critics have adopted with regard to this speech. Ever since suspicion was first thrown upon this address by Baur, it has become very common to assert of it that it bore altogether the character of one written after the event (vide Pastoral-briefe, p. 94; Schneckenburger p. 135; Baur, Apost. Paulus p. 181; Zeller p. 552). Let us now keep firmly in view the one point which in this speech refers in the most distinct manner possible to a future contingency, and the consideration of which, among other things, has chiefly given rise to these suspicions, I mean the declarations, concerning his own future destiny, which the Apostle introduces with the words *καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ, ἐγὼ οἶδα* (ver. 25). But here we have before us the remarkable fact, that these predictions were not fulfilled, and even our critics themselves assert this to be the case, although they have constantly on their tongues the objection of a conception "post-eventum." When the Apostle says "the Spirit witnesseth that bonds and affliction await me in Jerusalem," (ver. 23), and if he then goes on to say, "I count not my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course; I know that ye shall see my face no more;" and, finally, commends the whole charge of the Churches to the presidents; this is, as Baur justly remarks (see Pastoral-briefe p. 99), intended for a real and final leave-taking; and it is too, as Zeller also correctly says, not merely as Neander regards it, a presentiment of death, but a precise determination of his approaching end, and he really does speak (as Schneckenburger has with good ground inferred), as if his labours were now really over (ibid 134). But in the very same moment all these three critics allege that these very assertions of his speech were not realized; and that of this fact our author was evidently quite conscious. This, again, is a perfectly just remark. However, for my part, I must confess that I cannot see what stronger or more decisive objection there possibly could be than this against the truth of the charge of a "post-eventum" idea. In my humble judgment, the wisdom of these critics has, by these contradictions, become entangled in their own net. Tholuck might have urged this circumstance even still more forcibly than he has done in defence of the authenticity of our book (see Studien u. Kritik 1849, 1, 324, 325). These unhesitating declarations concerning his final departure, thus placed in the mouth of the

Apostle, are, under the supposition of a fictitious composition, absolutely inexplicable. On the contrary, if we regard them as a matter of history, we shall at once feel that they are not only perfectly intelligible, but that they also open to us a hidden depth of significance throughout the course of the events we are here considering.

At the very beginning of his address to the Ephesian elders, the Apostle begins at once to speak of himself and of his labours among them (ver. 18), and he also concludes it with the same subject (ver. 35). That the Apostle on that occasion should have felt himself constrained to speak of himself, must neither have surprised the Ephesian elders, nor can we justly wonder at it. For it was plainly a moment which was eminently calculated to awaken personal emotions, and to lead to the expression of them. But still the remark is just, that we should not have expected to find these personal considerations pervading the speech, to the extent they actually do, from beginning to end, if some other reason had not been associated with them, which, in the actual state of circumstances, was of the most urgent importance.

Tholuck has rightly observed (ibid. 314) that no one of all the sainted writers of the New Testament speaks so often of himself as St Paul, and certainly these allusions of St Paul to himself are both stronger and more frequent than we elsewhere meet with in the whole range of inspired history (conf. 2 Cor. i. 12; 1 Cor. xi. 1; Phil. iii. 17). It will not, however, be sufficient, in order to understand the present discourse, to appeal to this simple fact alone; the question will arise, how this peculiarity is to be explained both generally and also in the present place. On the general fact of these testimonies to themselves of the sacred writers, Hengstenberg (Beitrage zur Einleitung ins Altes Testament S. 221. 222) has given a reasonable explanation, by affirming that they evidently had their source in the firm conviction, that all that is good in the personal character is the work of God. Now, it must be clear that this Divine causality of all that is good in man was in no instance more strikingly exhibited than in the history of St Paul; a fact which our book most clearly shows. We have here depicted before our eyes, not only his conversion from a bloody persecutor of Christ into a persecuted follower of that same name—a change

wonderfully brought about in so short a time by the might and power of Him whose throne is in the Heavens; but also the other truth is palpably brought before us, how very far the Apostle was from taking measures of his own to bring about, and to secure the due recognition and realization of the Divine mystery of his call and conversion; but that, on the contrary, even in the matter of this total change of his external position and labours, he committed himself entirely to God's plans for the government of His Church. Consequently, in this instance, it is not only the greatness of the Divine miracle thus wrought on an individual—and it, indeed, is so great that it stands alone and unexampled throughout the whole course of history; but also the very way and the manner in which this marvellous work was effected and manifested, stamp it with the unmistakeable impression of the hand of God. This peculiarity of the history of the Apostle, to which the whole context of our book, as we have already seen, expressly directs our attention, makes all such prominent notices of his personal conduct and course of action as we meet with in the commencement of the speech before us, perfectly intelligible. With respect, however, to the way in which St Paul returns to his own personal matters at the end of his speech, we are in a position to furnish also a particular reason for his so doing.

When we observe how, at the very opening of his speech, St Paul lays especial stress on the relation subsisting between Ephesus and the whole domain of Asia (ver. 18), and see that St Paul consequently, at this moment, was deeply conscious of the prominent position which that city occupied in the whole of the wide domain around (see xix. 10), the force and importance of the whole speech must be thereby greatly increased. Now, for our historical objects we find there are three points in this speech of which we must take a more accurate view: first, the declarations of the Apostle with regard to his previous labours in Ephesus; secondly, his allusions to his journey to Jerusalem; and, finally, his views of the future prospects of the Church.

As respects the external circumstances connected with the Apostle's labours in Ephesus, we meet here with two notices which claim our attention the more, for the fact that they did

not appear immediately on the surface of the previous narrative, and that on this account they not only enlarge our conceptions of the Apostle's residence in Ephesus, but at the same time do us good service by contributing to refute, so far as they are concerned, the hypothesis of those critics of the fictitious character of this address. Of these two notices, the one is the mention of the plotting of the Jews, by which the Apostle had suffered in Ephesus (ver. 19). The report of our history had only told us of danger from the side of the heathen; however, that a plot of this kind, on the part of the Jews, was in itself a thing highly probable, we may judge from the numerous instances of malice towards the Apostle, already given us by our book, which really did exist among the Jews. And here the suggestion arises on our minds, that we have been told expressly how the Jews, notwithstanding the disposition they showed in the beginning to receive the Gospel, soon subsided in Ephesus into the same hostile feeling as had marked them in every place. And in proof of this, Tholuck (see ibid S. 315), might have appealed not only to xix. 7, but also to xix. 33. The other notice has reference to the duration of the Apostle's labours in Ephesus. (See ver. 31). In the history we find that two years and three months is stated to be (xix. 8, 10) the time of the Apostle's stay there. Here, on the contrary, a stay of three years is spoken of. It has been justly remarked, however, that the narrative leaves free room for the idea of a longer duration for the Apostle's sojourn in Ephesus. (Wieseler, chronol. der Apostol. Zeitalters, p. 53). Now, Wieseler, with good reason, has drawn attention to the fact, that, at the first coming of the Apostle (according to Acts xviii. 19), the Feast of Pentecost was just at hand, and that, according to 1 Cor. xvi. 8, his departure from Ephesus took place about the same season. Now, from the Pentecost first mentioned to the second, three years would have elapsed. It is therefore only natural to suppose that St Paul did not think much about the interval between his first visit there and his second arrival; especially as it was for the most part spent in travelling, and that, consequently, he might have allowably spoken of a three years' residence there (ibid. S. 59 Anm.) To this suggestion I would only add the remark, that this mode of reckoning the years by the Feast of Pentecost was the more likely to be adopted

by the Apostle, since, at the very time, he had actually the same festival in view (xx. 16). We see, moreover, from this circumstance, that just as St John, in the history of our Lord, dwells always on the Feast of the Passover, so St Luke employs that of Pentecost in the history of the Church; and that just as in the former case the third Passover formed a critical epoch, so here also does the third Feast of Pentecost. Now, let us reflect on the circumstance that, although the narrative of our book leaves room enough for both these remarks of the Apostle concerning his stay in Ephesus, we must regard them as supplementary to the narrative. But this is incontestibly a criterion of a discourse really spoken, and not of a supposititious one.

Now, with respect to what is stated by the Apostle concerning his labours in Ephesus, we shall here have occasion to observe how hastily these critics proceed, when they assert that the Apostolical history affords us no distinct view of the peculiar character of the labours and mode of teaching of St Paul (Schneckenburger Zweck der Apostel-geschichte S. 128, 129). For, just as in the speech at Antioch and Athens, we have been able to trace the thoroughly peculiar impress of St Paul's wisdom of teaching according as he was preaching to the Jews or to the Gentiles; so likewise does the speech at Miletus afford us a deeper insight into the equally characteristic conduct and manner of the Apostle in the midst of the Churches, both as respects the form and also the subject matter of his teaching. Concerning the kind and manner of his labouring in the Churches, St Paul here declares the very same things that, consistently with the whole of his character and history, as well as with the vocation for which he was destined, we should have expected of him. He characterises this method and manner with a threefold qualification: *μετὰ πάσης ταπεινοφροσύνης, καὶ δακρύων καὶ πειρασμῶν* v. 19). In these expressions we can once more clearly recognise the Apostle Paul. Who is so broken a man, both individually and nationally—who so utterly prostrated, as St Paul? His righteousness had become, in his mind, a sin; and the law, the highest glory of his nation, had become to him a sentence of condemnation. In such a character, humility in every respect, and in every regard, *πάσα ταπεινοφροσύνη*, (comp. xiii. 10), must have been manifested to a degree as had nowhere

else been ever witnessed. And this essential trait was precisely the very one which was most required in an Apostle for the Gentiles. For, inasmuch as the religious element among the heathen had universally been drawn into the sphere of the natural and the national; no emancipation from Paganism was likely to be effected by a religion which did not present itself to the heathen in a purely spiritual form, totally divested from all national admixtures. If it was requisite—and we see that it was historically necessary—that the Apostle of the Gentiles should be chosen out of Israel, then he must be one who (as we know St Paul to have been) was dead to his nation, and who confesses that he, through the law, was dead to the law (see Gal. ii. 19). Still further, St Paul declares, that he had discharged his duties in the Church with tears; and from ver. 31 we see more clearly that he means the tears with which he had exhorted and warned the individual members in love and earnestness (see *νουθετῶν* in Harless on the Epist. to the Ephes., p. 522). In these tears, consequently, is to be found the other aspect of that humble renunciation of his own personal and national feelings; it is the most direct and speaking token of that entire love and devotion which the Jew St Paul entertained for his Gentile brethren. These tears are a proof of that kindly and brotherly feeling which St Paul cherished for the believing Pagans, and the attempts of the Jews against his life form the complement to these tears. For, from this expression of hatred on the part of the Jews, the heathen must undeniably have been convinced that the Gospel of St Paul was not, as otherwise, perhaps, they might think, more peculiarly belonging to the Jews than to themselves; and that the Apostle Paul, truly and properly speaking, belonged to them. In these brief characteristics of the labours of St Paul among the heathen, we have at the same time a vivid representation of the way in which St Paul skilfully contrived to create faith for the strange and unheard-of matters that he preached to the Gentiles. The spontaneous outbreak of this spirituality and this love it was that afforded at once an irresistible evidence of the truth to the conscience of every one who was at all susceptible; and thus we are able to understand how it came to pass that, in its account of the labours of the Apostle among the Gentiles, the history of the Acts lays so little stress upon miracles.

With this character of spirituality and love which the operations of the Apostles so manifestly reveal, it is moreover connected, that the exertions of St Paul were not confined to his public teaching, but also penetrated into private houses (ver. 21), nay that he even addressed himself to individuals one by one, (ver. 31). The popular religions, naturally enough, had always the masses in view; there was, however, already within the sphere of Paganism a species of spiritual activity which took no account of the masses. This was furnished by the traditional mysteries and by the spread of philosophy. The Apostle, therefore, followed the precedent of the school, and thereby gave it to be understood that he did not seek to diffuse a new and different popular religion, but that the object he had in view was to restore the individual to the true and right relation to God. On the first occasion of St Paul preaching on the missionary domain of heathendom, St Luke pointed out this individual character of the Gospel, (see xiii. 48) and his remark is further confirmed by what St Paul here observes in reference to his own practice. And there is an intimate connection between this and what St Paul reminds the Ephesian elders of in reference to the subject matter of his preaching. For that change of mind which turns from the world and addresses itself to God—the μετάνοια εἰς θεὸν and faith in Jesus Christ, which makes this turning to God effectual, and converts it into a communion with God, indicate that which both negatively and positively is essentially necessary to salvation for individuals among the Gentiles no less than among the Jews. As far, then, as we have hitherto gone with the Apostle in his reminiscences of his Apostolical labours in Ephesus, all that we have met with is in perfect consistency with what we have already learned of the Apostle from other sources, and must regard as truly characteristic of St Paul's mode of operation.

We have, however, already had occasion to notice, that the individuality which does unquestionably assume a prominent position in the teaching of St Paul, by no means comprises the whole sphere of his thoughts and doctrine. There is an inner and an outer sphere, a narrower and a wider circle of communion, in which man is placed by the natural order of things. Since, then, with the relation in which individuals stand to these several

spheres, the communion of sin has mixed itself up; and since sin, so far as it has associated itself with this relation which lies external to the immediate sphere of the subject, assumes the appearance of a comparatively greater purity because of a certain unselfishness, and is for this reason particularly dangerous; it becomes a matter of the utmost necessity for the perfect emancipation from sin, even in its most subtle forms, that a man should be taken out of each of these spheres and placed in all his naked individuality before his God. In Christ, therefore, not only are all national relations rendered null, and in Him there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither circumcision nor uncircumcision, neither barbarian nor Scythian (see Col. iii. 11); but there is an end, also, of any consideration of house and family; and there is neither male nor female, neither bond nor free (Gal. iii. 28). This isolation of the individual from every merely natural tie and association is, in the most original and decided manner, established and introduced by the history of Jesus Christ himself. For in this history not only the sacred nationality, which is even that of God's people, is condemned, inasmuch as the people of Israel betrayed their righteous and perfect King to the heathen, but even the sanctity of the family itself (for such was His communion with His mother and His brethren) for even His mother on certain occasions troubled her holy Son (see John ii. 4; Matt. xii. 46—50), and His brethren did not believe on Him, (see John vii. 5). But if man, by Christ having become all in all to him, has been made a new creature, we must not overlook the fact that this new creature is still a man even as certainly as the Creator of this new creature is the Son of Man; just as the breath of this new life is the spirit of the Son of Man. But then, again, for the existence of this new man, the necessity still exists of the extension of this individuality into the two originally given spheres of society. But these spheres of society and communion cannot any longer be those of the old and the natural man, since they must correspond to the new and spiritual man. Now, in fact, we do find in this spiritual domain two spheres of communion which may be compared to the orignal ones. In the life of Jesus the house in which he was born has its substitute, in the house and society which he chose for himself,

(see Matt. x. 25; Luke xxii. 35; John xiii. 18), and in the place of the people and kingdom in the midst of which he was born, comes the Heavenly people and kingdom for whose princes and judges the King has appointed and constituted His chosen twelve (see Luke xxii. 29, 30). Would not these two spheres of spiritual fellowship require, therefore, two distinct manifestations? Does not ἐκκλησία in truth point to the domestic and family sphere of communion, just as Βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, and βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν do to a national and political one? With regard to the last expression it is the merit of Richard Rothe—which, however, has been far from receiving its due appreciation—to have established in his work, Die Anfänge der Christlichen Kirche und ihrer Verfassung (see S. 6—8) the validity of this remark after too long neglect of it. Although the analogy of the word ἐκκλησία to the domestic sphere, is not at first immediately evident, still, in my opinion, it is not the less certain on that account. The ἐκκλησία is the assembly of Israel before the house and tabernacle of Jehovah, for the term is the translation of the Hebrew terms קָהָל, עֵדָה and מִקְרָא. In such an assembly of Israel the form of the camp and of the people appears to be dissolved; it is not from its national sub-divisions, nor from its military organisation, that the assembly of Israel derives its unity, but from its relation to the house and habitation of Jehovah. True it is that the assembly did not, at such times, enter into the house and habitation of Jehovah; but this entering in and this abiding therein, was, nevertheless, without doubt, the purport of the people so assembling. The whole congregation of Israel shall one day be gathered together on Mount Sion under the shade and shelter of the holy tabernacle (see Isaiah iv. 5, 6), and shall eat the blessed fruit produced in the land of Jehovah's court of holiness (Isaiah lxii. 9). Israel, consequently, in this form of a congregation, ἐκκλησία, appears as the family and household of Jehovah. What, therefore, the Old Testament dispensation represented as prospective and future, is, in the New Testament, realized and attained. He in whom the fulness of the Godhead dwells, appoints, through His Spirit, His own people to be His family, and constitutes them to be the fulfilment of the Old Testament ἐκκλησία; to be, that is, a true

Church. I only need to allude to the fact that the importance and significance of the breaking of bread in the early Church thus receives a new confirmation.

A consideration of the two spheres of communion in which the individual man is placed by Christ, has brought us to the consideration of a very highly characteristic point in the speech of the Apostle Paul at Miletus before the elders of the Ephesian Church. I mean the circumstance that after he had, as we have seen, expressed himself with peculiar force concerning the individual position, he spoke out with no less precision concerning the two spheres of a Christian fellowship. Very justly has it been observed by Richard Rothe, that this conception of the Church was developed and defined in the strongest and clearest manner by the Apostle Paul (see Anfänge der Kirche, p. 282, 286, 297). We have already remarked that this circumstance found its first occasion in the peculiar experiences of the Apostle on his conversion. But this individual impulse does not explain to us the reason why St Paul felt compelled to express himself so comprehensively concerning the Church as he unmistakeably has done in ver. 28. For Rothe is certainly right when he says that ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Κυρίου (as I read with Tischendorf), can neither apply to the Church of Ephesus (nor to that of Miletus as Rothe erroneously writes), but only to the Church in its universal and catholic sense (see ibid. p. 299). These bare allusions to the Church in the general sense can only be satisfactorily explained by the existing circumstances, and the position in which the Apostle stood. We must at last come back again to the notion of *Βασιλεία*. Important as the remark of Rothe is, that this idea belongs to the external sphere of things, and that it points to the political and national system, still it is altogether remote from, and fails entirely from adapting itself to, the domain of the secular empire. For this effect cannot be brought about by any other means than by leaving out of consideration the decided opposition which, from the beginning to the end, the Scripture maintains between the kingdoms of the world and the kingdoms of God. Not only does the Old Testament notion of the kingdom invariably point to Israel, but the New likewise, with its permanent and abiding signature of the twelve Apostles (see Rev. xxi.

14), maintains this inextinguishable relation. The realisation of this kingdom is consequently dependent on the restoration of Israel. But as yet the Gentiles rule supreme over the world, and Israel is delivered in subjection to them. Israel finds not room anywhere for her free development and expansion. And correspondent therewith is the fact that the King of this kingdom has departed from the earth, and retired into the depths of Heaven; and consequently no favourable opportunity can arrive for the manifestation of this kingdom, until the times and seasons shall have changed in accordance to the will of an all-powerful God (Acts i. 7). We have, consequently, in the course of development we have been following in our history, already recognised how, with this external form of the great cosmical relations, the inner tendency and destiny of the world perfectly corresponds. The Jews reject the Gospel of salvation, and the Gentiles accept it. In Jerusalem, the Gospel has ceased to be effectual, and in the chief cities of the empire and commerce of the world, it is continually growing into greater power and influence. And the Apostle Paul is the powerful instrument which has been prepared and fitted by God for this great transformation of the external and internal relations of the world, and it is a part, also, of this preparation of the mind of St Paul that he has to undergo this experience of the essential union between the Lord and His Church. This Apostle, however, does not belong to the number of the twelve. The state of the world, both within and without, has for its consequence that this kingdom of God cannot attain to any preliminary realisation or manifestation on earth.

Now, both in the spiritual and natural development of humanity, there has been a time in which merely human society could not arrive at the shape either of a kingdom or a people. As regards the natural development, this was in the times before the flood; and as regards the spiritual, in those of the patriarchs. Now, this period of the household—and family—relations in the epochs of the world appointed for the kingdom of God, must return, or rather must meet with its full realisation and accomplishment. This is the time of the Church of the New Testament, and the priest and the teacher of this spiritual household, above all others, is St Paul, who, as the thirteenth Apostle, has no official position in

the kingdom. It is unquestionably an imperfection and a defect that this kingdom cannot at once attain to its being and its manifestation, and the blame rests with the perversity and unbelief of the Jews. But from the very beginning we have seen that the kingdom of Christ will not allow its victorious course to be stayed or conquered by any impediment; even though it may by some opposing power be turned into a different path and direction, it yet contrives, by some means or other, to subdue this obstacle with so much the greater energy, and thereby to reveal afresh the glory of its inexhaustible sufficiency, which, when pursuing its path undisturbed, it could not have called into operation. And this is the case also with the preliminary exclusive constitution of the kingdom in the form of the Church. As much as the ties of household and family are more intimate and fuller of affection than those of the native country or kingdom of a people, so the intimate and personal relations of the Lord towards the community of His saints, must attain to a fuller realisation and acknowledgment, exactly in the same proportion as within this spiritual brotherhood, the form of the kingdom subsides into that of the family and household. By the fact that Israel withdrew itself from the grace of God, this perfect configuration of the work of grace in the form of a perfect community on earth, has been at first disappointed; therefore the Lord has now turned him to individual souls, and on this, the deepest and most permanent foundation of any in human life and nature (conf. Vinet Socialismus in seinem Princip. p. 21, 34, 42, 43), seeks to build up eternal righteousness and holiness. These individuals He for the time unites together in the communion of the Church. For this community of the Church cannot be effected without the necessity of employing means which appertain to the secular sphere. For this purpose He requires neither a people nor a country; neither the power nor the ordinances of a kingdom, but purely that which is everywhere and immediately furnished by the personal existence of man upon earth—by the waters of purification, the bond of fellowship, and the condition of common existence. Out of these simple elements of the external world which are ready at hand wherever a human being exists, the house of God in the Spirit may be built up. As in the house, the individual is ever and always recognised in his independence, and never can

sink to the point of ultimate insignificance, so in this ecclesiastical form of communion, the individual soul remains in Christ, the ever present ground and foundation for the life of the whole; and on the other hand, the smallest community, even two or three, represents the whole; because the whole—even in that extent with which it shall fill the whole world—has simply the form of the family and the household. And for this reason it is not a matter of accident if the smallest assembly bears the same holy name as belongs to the Church universal.

The peculiar nature of the Church, therefore, is most fully exhibited and realized wherever the Church is, in its form, most opposed to that of a kingdom, consequently in the domain of the Gentiles. Ought we not to expect, therefore, that there would be a special relation of the Lord to this community corresponding to this peculiar glory of the Gentile Church? And is not that very character of deep spirituality which has been pointed out merely the reflection of that peculiar gift of grace with which the Lord looks upon and blesses His Church? and might we not justly have expected from St Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, an express declaration on this point? And precisely so it is. There is none among all the Apostolic witnesses who, so much as St Paul, has pointed out and described the existing relation between Christ and the Church of the believers as being of this intimate and essential nature. For in a full and detailed exposition St Paul defines this communion to be the realization of the mystery which is embodied in marriage (Ephes. v. 21—32). This St Paul wrote, as the Apostle of the Gentiles, to a cycle of Gentile Churches. And even in the Old Testament we meet with an intimation which clearly foreshadowed this relation of God to the Churches of the Gentiles. The point which has lately been urged by Delitsch is undoubtedly true, and there can be no question that the mystery of the marriage union is, in the Old Testament referred to in the relation which subsisted between Jehovah and Zion (see Hohelied. p. 200—208). But these facts do but become the more significant the more eminent and responsible are the personages who, in a manner specially pointed out by Holy Scripture, form marriages with Gentile women. To this class belongs the marriage of Joseph with the daughter of the Egyptian priest; that of Moses with the Midianitish woman;

and, above all, the marriage of Solomon with the daughter of the king of Egypt. By these instances the holy and blessed state of matrimony is shewn to be of such a nature as can be fully accomplished between those who bore in themselves a true impersonation of Israel, and heathen women who equally represented Gentilism. But the most important point connected with these marriages was the circumstance, that, whereas the marriage between Jehovah and Israel could not take place during the period of the Old Testament, the holy mystery attained to a present celebration in the type of these marriages between men of Israel and women of the Gentiles. And it is in perfect correspondence with this view that St Paul the Apostle of the Gentiles, who considered himself called to present the Churches of the Gentiles as a chaste virgin unto Christ their espoused Lord (2 Cor. xi. 2), should thus represent the mystery of marriage as fulfilled and perfected. For whilst, as regarded Israel, the relation on the whole had remained unchanged; whilst, that is to say, with them the consummation of the marriage relation which had been commenced, belonged entirely to the future, the present fulfilment of this holy marriage was in the Church alone, which, from day to day, shewed itself to be more and more exclusively the Church of the Gentiles.

It is precisely to this exposition by St Paul of the essential fellowship existing between Christ and the Church, that we are led by the declaration of the Apostle himself on this subject, in his address to the Ephesian Church. The Lord has purchased the Church for Himself with his own blood (ver. 28). Meyer ought not to have supposed that the allusion in these words was made pre-eminently to His sacrifice, but also to a former historical event of the Old Testament. The Divine acquisition incontestibly refers to the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt, by which Israel passed from the hands of Pharoah to those of Jehovah, and became His property (Exod. xv. 16). As, indeed, St Peter translates the expressive word (סְגֻלָּה), which, in the chief passage, Exod. xix. 6, is applied to Israel thus delivered, by λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν (1 Pet. ii. 9). This allusion contained in the word περιεποιήσατο, to the acquisition of Israel, has not escaped Harless (on the Ephesians, p. 81); and it is the more indubitable, the more universally and significantly this view of

Israel, as being the possession of Jehovah (which is founded on the Egyptian deliverance), prevails throughout in the ideas and expressions of the Old Testament (Deuter. iv. 20; ix. 26, 29; 2 Sam. xiv. 16; 1 Kings viii. 51; Ps. xxviii. 9; lxxiv. 2; xciv. 5; cvi. 5; Isa. xix. 25; lxiii. 17; Mich. vii. 14; Joel ii. 17; iv. 2.). Now, if this allusion is allowed to stand, we are led by the words διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος, to a still closer modification of it. The history of the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt, shews us behind the effects of human power and authority, the back-ground of another and a superhuman omnipotence and might. As Mizraim, so also Israel, had fallen under the condemnation of sin and death, and it was only the gracious compassion of Jehovah which made the distinction between Israel and Egypt (Exod. xi. 7, 8, 10; Theolog. Commentar. i. 464), and which, consequently, alone rescued Israel from this supernatural thraldom. By this act, therefore, the deliverance from the power of the stranger, and the appropriation and acquisition of Israel on the part of Jehovah was accomplished, in the fullest and truest sense; and that other taking possession and deliverance by the hand of Jehovah, from the bondage to the Egyptian people, was a simple consequence of that primary event. But, now, this first and primary deliverance was not accomplished without the shedding of blood (see Exod. xii. 13, 23; Theolog. Commentar., p. 465 466). Consequently, in the consideration of the blood-shedding spoken of in the passage before us, we are the less disposed to allow this allusion to be lost sight of, the more precisely the blood thus shed for the redemption of Israel points also to the opposite aspect of this fact of deliverance—to the living in the communion of Jehovah—the new existence of the people, as the heritage of the Lord (περιποίησις). For it was necessary that the whole of the flesh of the Lamb, through whose blood Israel was redeemed from death and corruption, should be eaten as the food of the new life (ibid. S. 466—467). But it is precisely in this very point that the incompleteness of the redemption, and the purchasing as God's own, as it is set forth in the Old Testament, is most clearly brought to light. For highly and solemnly as the duty of partaking of the flesh of the paschal lamb is enjoined on Israel, no less strictly and solemnly is all participation in the blood forbidden; for that the blood of the paschal lamb is also in-

cluded under this prohibition, appears especially from the fact, that the reason which is ultimately given for this prohibition, is, that the life which is in the blood was allowed to hold the place of the life of the man (see Levit. xvii. 11). Had this vicarious atonement for sin been really effected, there would have existed no reason why this propitiatory blood ought not, nor could serve as the life-giving food of this new existence. But inasmuch as reconciliation was never complete, and under the Old Covenant required to be continually repeated; the blood, the efficient instrument of this reconciliation, was still exclusively reserved for this purpose, and all partaking of it was as yet interdicted. Important and momentous as the blood appears in the whole ordinance of the paschal feast, yet it is evident that the blood of the Passover of the Old Testament was not the true means of deliverance from death, inasmuch as the true sustenance of the new life was not to be found in it. But now that this expiatory blood of the Passover has found its historical realisation in the redemption and purchase of the Church, is what St Paul intends to point out by the words *διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος*. For it may be assumed as a self-evident fact, that since He who both is called and is the Lord, offered up His own blood, this blood must necessarily be and is that to which the Passover of the Old Testament had typically pointed. Further also, within the Apostolical Church which had contemplated all the fundamental parts of the New Testament, whether connected with the Jewish Christians or the Gentile Christians, exclusively in their Divine connexion—by the light of the types in the Old Testament: it must be looked upon as self-evident that the blood of the Lord Himself, which had purchased His Church to be His peculiar possession, could not be regarded independently of its power, to quicken unto everlasting life, which it offered to faith to partake of (John vi. 55). In fact, the very term *περιεποιήσατο*, must have involved the idea of a creative energy, simultaneously with that of acquisition; simply for this reason that the Church itself previously did not exist. Here, then, for the first time, we have presented to us a something fundamental and truly new, which in the deliverance out of Egypt, existed only inchoately and typically. True it is that the vast multitude of the children of Israel, by their deliverance from Egypt, became

a people; they still existed conformably to their natural basis, and the new existence, to which this redemption from death, and the eating of the paschal lamb, and the unleavened bread, pointed, did not go beyond this purely natural foundation. The Church, on the contrary, was an entirely new creation in which all that had previously existed was delivered over unto death, in order to be made glorious in the light and power of a new life (2 Cor. v. 17; Gal. vi. 15; Ephes. ii. 10). Consequently, in exactly the same way as the stream of life, in the natural man, had its source in the first Adam, who, by the will of the flesh, poured forth the blood of life by the hidden process of nature, so the life stream of the spiritual man has its issues in the second Adam, who pours forth the blood of life by the will of the Spirit, and through the same Spirit, makes the blood thus shed to become a power of indestructible life.

Since then, by the proposition, that the Church was purchased by the blood of the Lord, it is at the same time asserted that the Church has become partaker of the same life and essence with her Lord, we find ourselves placed in the very centre of St Paul's views concerning the Church, according to which not only is the Lord the Head to which the Church forms the body (see Eph. i. 22, 23; iv. 15, 16; v. 23; Col. i. 18; ii. 19); but also in a similar way that conception, which represents the relation between Christ and His Church by the figure of a marriage, is referred back to the original community of substance which subsisted between the man, and the woman taken out of the man. For the objections and arguments of Harless have failed to convince me that the ancient and traditional exposition which sees a connection between Ephes. v. 30 and Gen. ii. 23 is not the only just one, and the only one which is perfectly consistent with the whole line of argument in this paragraph.

If, then, in this important declaration concerning the Church which is contained in this address, we have recognized a demonstrably Pauline thought; still it must not be forgotten, that as yet it has not been explained, how it was that precisely in this place, and at this time, the Apostle should have come to give utterance to this fundamental idea concerning the relation of Christ to the universal Church. For the more comprehensive, and the more deeply grounded this thought is, the less is it tied

either to time or place. If, now, we take a view of this particular period, and the whole position of things, we shall be constrained to say that, in the midst of the prevailing circumstances, the object in view was such an exhibition of the universal Church as had never before been given. Rothe has in truth asserted that the idea of the Church in its complex sense (to use his own words) is as old as the existence of the Christian community (see Anfänge der Kirche p. 293); but that the realization of this idea cannot be supposed to have taken place before the year 70 after Christ (see ibid. p. 310). But, correct as are the leading lines which Röthe has drawn for the discrimination of the two ideas of ἐκκλησία and βασιλεία (which are presented to us in this address of St Paul), which are pretty generally sketched by him and also by Usteri, still, in the further working out of these ideas, as he does not adhere to the Biblical standard, he is in many points erroneous. For, according to the Holy Scriptures, no regard is paid to the thoughts of the Apostles, nor generally to those of men in respect to the Church; but the first and leading idea they set forth is, that the Lord has created it of His own Divine person, and sets it up before Himself as a person congenerous with Himself. This is the fundamental fact concerning the existence of the Church, and one which absolutely is accessible to faith alone; and it is even this that forms the inviolable germ of the Protestant Doctrine of the invisible Church (cf. Anderson das protestantische Dogma von der sichtbaren und unsichtbaren Kirche S. 26. 32). But, now, had this invisible Church attained to a visible manifestation and exhibition in the times of the Apostles? Most assuredly,—and, in truth, in so perfect and complete a manner as it never afterwards attained to. In this history of the origines of the Church, three representations are given of it, and of these each one possesses its peculiar glory and importance. The first is that which is coincident with the historical foundation and establishment of the Christian Church. The community of the first fruits, united together in the form of brotherly fellowship, and meeting together in a single house, appears as that spiritual unity which combines together in one organization of Divine life, all the varieties of the human race under heaven. The second exhibition of the Church in the times of the Apostles is the great

assembly at Jerusalem; in it the representatives of the Gentile Churches confer with those of the Jewish Church, and, together, come to an unanimous resolution concerning the future development of the Church. The third representation of the universal Church is that which is now placed in prospect before us. In consequence of that decisive resolution, the conversion of the heathen has gone on to a great extent, and has begun to embrace the whole world. St Paul, the author of this conversion of the Gentiles, in all the historical regions of the world, is on his way to Jerusalem with living witnesses, and with liberal offerings of love from the Gentile Churches in every quarter, in the hope of realizing in an external and practical manner the communion between the Churches of the believing Gentiles and the mother Church of Israel. As the second exhibition of the Church had exercised a decisive influence upon the Gentile world, so is this third representation of it intended to operate no less decidedly on Judaism. Since, then, to the mind of the Apostle, these Ephesian elders represented the whole of Asiatic Christendom, it is nothing wonderful if, in his speech on the present occasion, he should bring fully and clearly before their minds the whole idea of the Church; any more than it is strange that the evangelical Epistle which he afterwards wrote, but directed immediately to the Ephesians, should maintain an universal position, especially in reference to this doctrine of the Church.

On the other hand, the Apostle announces himself to these elders as the man who had been carried into the various regions of the sphere of his working, to preach the Gospel of the kingdom (*βασιλεία* without *τοῦ θεοῦ*, according to the oldest codices, ver. 24), and therein points to the reverse side of the idea of *ἐκκλησία*. This is evidently associated with the fact that St Paul, however steadily he may keep in view throughout the whole course of his labours the position of individuality, nevertheless invariably conceives of the individual as of a living person in an organic connection with, and under all his relations to, the universal body. In the same degree, therefore, that he mentions every single particular, emphatically insisting on the concurrence of the individual, so with special urgency he reminds his hearers that he had kept back nothing that was profitable for doctrine (ver. 20), and that he had declared to them the whole

counsel of God (ver 27). This completeness of his preaching comprises naturally that of the doctrine of the kingdom. We have already seen that the Apostle was wont to communicate this doctrine to the Gentiles at once (comp. xiv. 22); here, however, both the generality of his expressions, as well as the contrast in what he asserts concerning the ἐκκλησία, will compel us to enter into a more express examination of this idea.

When once we view this expression βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν or τοῦ θεοῦ in its biblical context, and apart from all extraneous matter, it appears quite certain that it will receive its final realisation and accomplishment in the setting up of the kingdom of Christ on earth. Now this earthly kingdom of Christ will attain to its perfect configuration, and the realisation of all national and social relations, whenever that people who, in the beginning, were created and formed for this Divine kingdom, are brought back to, and follow, their original vocation and purpose; for Christ's earthly kingdom is finally to arrive at its consummation in the kingdom and people of Israel. But now, as soon as we apprehend the idea of the kingdom in its biblical context, it at once becomes evident, that, even according to what the work we are commenting upon suggests, we must not expect it to be set up until, by means of His omnipotence, God shall have ordered and established "the times and the seasons" (see Acts i. 7). So far is the establishment of this kingdom from being placed in man's power, that with all his thoughts and efforts he must pursue some other object, and leave the realisation of this kingdom wholly and entirely in the hands of the Supreme Ruler and Governor of the world. The greater the truth is, that, as Rothe remarks, the very idea of βασιλεία carries our thoughts to the external system of an earthly nationality, the more resolutely must we protest against the conclusions which he draws therefrom, maintaining that the Church has it for its task gradually to assume this shape, and to set itself up as a kingdom (see Anfänge der Kirche S. 85. 86). Judging from the course of development which we have been following, it appears quite clear to our minds that, as the Lord himself has retired from the sphere of earth, so too He is not disposed to surrender to His Church the government of the external relations of the world; that, on the contrary, He has determined to expose it to the world's opposition and

gainsaying. In regard to the realisation of this kingdom, we must naturally suppose that precisely the same position is assigned to the Church as the Lord enjoined on His disciples when they asked Him concerning the restoration of the kingdom : that the point first and chiefly to be looked to was the being pervaded by the essence of the Spirit. In the course of our history this necessity has been gradually revealed to us more and more fully. For what was it that continually shut the heart of Israel more and more closely, not only against the revelation of the Son of Man, but also against the testimony of the Holy Spirit ? The reason of this was, that Israel had regarded the kingdom of God under such an external and carnal aspect as to allow pride and impurity of heart covertly to find room therein. And hence arose the necessity for the Divine community developing itself in such a shape and form as should allow no trace of a kingdom to appear—that the form of the community should go back to that state of things, from which all godly communion on earth took its beginning—to the origines of the Patriarchal times, when there was neither people, nor nation, nor kingdom to be seen (see Heb. xi. 10—13, 14, 15 ; xiii. 13).

On this, then, rests the necessity that the Church—that household, or Patriarchal form of the community of God—has not only a beginning, but also receives a development and evolution. One might, indeed, very naturally come to suppose that it would be sufficient for the Christian community to undergo the falling away of the Jewish people; and that thereupon being set free from all national and local ties, it should maintain itself in the form of a Church; and that, after passing through these trials, it might confidently assume, in the domain of the Gentiles, the guise of a kingdom, if only it had previously penetrated the worldly element with its own Spirit :—a representation of the matter which again would make it the duty of the Church to labour after its own consummation. But in this conception the fact has been left out of consideration that on the Gentile domain the *βασιλεία* had already assumed a very definite shape, and one of persevering hostility to the Spirit of Christ—that is to say, the shape and form of the secular empires. Now, as according to the declarations of Scripture, this form is to endure to the end of time ; consequently no other shape remains for the Christian community

among the Gentiles than that of the Church. And it is even for this reason that the Apostle of the Gentiles proclaims so urgently in the hearing of the representatives of Asia the importance of the Church, and alludes at the same time to the peculiar character of its form and constitution in the domain of the Gentiles. He speaks, that is to say, of the elders of Ephesus, as the overseers and pastors whom the Holy Spirit had appointed (ver. 28). This declaration involves not only the truth, that the Holy Ghost is the source and foundation of the Gentile Churches, by which fact their whole basis is placed out of the system of mere natural development, but also the truth that the same Spirit pervades and governs its further development and constitution. For the appointment of pastors and teachers belongs evidently to the very form of the Church, and there cannot be a doubt that for such appointments, human agency is, at all periods, requisite. If, therefore, this agency of man does not prevent the result being denominated the work of the Holy Spirit, it is implied that this very agency is employed by the Holy Spirit Himself. But this can only be possible on the condition, that in this human mediation all carnal influences are made subservient to the Spirit, and that the flesh in no wise exercises any independent power of its own. Now, at a very important point of our history, we recognized that the greatest surety for the harmonious co-operation of the Holy Spirit and the Church, and consequently for the subjection of the fleshly powers by the Spirit, was furnished by that human agency in which the common action of the individual members and the representatives of the Church was maintained and manifested in free development (see Acts xv. 28). And it is in agreement therewith, that we have arrived at the conclusion, that the selection and appointment of these elders and pastors did not take place without the co-operation of the communities themselves (see xiv. 23). Thereby, the several Churches are assigned both their duty and their privilege. It is made their duty to regard themselves, and assert their position as a Divine family and household, in which every member, for his own part, enjoys freedom and independence; and, whenever they labour and develope themselves in this form, then will full assurance be vouchsafed to them, that they may look upon their own work and doings as, at the same time, the doing and work of the

Holy Spirit. And thus both the possibility and the necessity of the Church within the limits of Heathendom is set forth by the Apostle. This form of a household, which is fully established in every community, however small, may be maintained by the Christian body, even at those times when it has not the mission of presiding over countries and nations: in this form it can dwell among the Canaanites, and alongside of the Philistines, and in the midst of the kingdom of Egypt. In truth, however, epochs are ever coming, as the history of the Acts informs us, in which the several communities have to consummate their communion with others. However, this consummation also of the communion of the whole Church, does not absolutely lie without the sphere of the might of the so constituted community of Christians. So long as the secular power does not employ all its powers and resources in impeding and restraining the free movement of the Church, the all conquering Spirit of love and fellowship furnishes the possibility for the union of the several members, wherever an opportunity is presented by circumstances.

That the Apostle wishes at first for nothing further than that this communion should be propagated in such a shape on the domain of Heathendom and continually advance to perfection, is shewn by the sentence in which he commands the Church to be able to "build it up" (ver. 32). For in the phrase "building up" the family form of communion is spoken of not merely as the possible form which the Church of the future may adopt, but as that which it necessarily must assume. But now the more this form of the Church is presented as the necessary one, the less intelligible it appears that every where the kingdom is spoken of alongside of the Church, as here also we find it to be the case; and one might perhaps be disposed to harbour the thought, that if the Church is still to maintain her peculiar constitution, and yet of itself cannot, and was not intended to contribute anything towards the working out of this form into the height and breadth of a kingdom, then the proclamation of a kingdom can have no other than a disturbing and perplexing effect. Undoubtedly the Church has no power to control the times and seasons of the world, but is, on the contrary, itself subject to them; and therefore it cannot and may not carry out into external manifesta-

tion its form as a kingdom. The Church, however, is, and ever will be, the only subject destined for this kingdom; and, therefore, on that very account, it is the less allowable for this form of a kingdom to be brought upon the Church from without, and without due preparation; inasmuch as, properly speaking, the Church is the place where all that is external is to be spiritually and intrinsically prepared. On this account it is absolutely necessary that the Church should be preliminarily instructed that her future form is to be that of a kingdom which shall comprise the whole world. It is this knowledge of its future constitution, as a kingdom, which sustains the lofty courage of the Church and its world-embracing spirit, which even amidst an external condition of unparalleled oppression, allows not its holy community to sink into a sect, nor its assembly into a conventicle.

It was only by such a knowledge of the kingdom that it was possible for Christians, even while they were persecuted and oppressed throughout the extent of the Roman Empire, nevertheless to consider themselves as being the soul of the whole body of the world (*ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐν σώματι ψυχή τοῦτο εἴσιν ἐν κόσμῳ Χριστιανοί*, Epist. ad Diognet c. vi.). And further, upon this knowledge of the kingdom depended the development of the Church in its relation to the world. In the world, that is to say, we also find the three spheres of human existence and life—the individual, the family, and the nation; but all alike, they are not pervaded and influenced by the Spirit of God, but governed and regulated by that of selfishness and sin. The individual of the world regards his own person as the centre round which all else revolves. The household, as it fashions itself in the world, is founded on marriage, of which the object is capriciously chosen; accordingly, the unity which holds together the several members of a household, is a mere form to which there is no corresponding reality; since in truth every one is for himself alone; and property, which forms the natural foundation of the family, and, therefore, as such, ought to be both looked upon and made use of as a mere subordinate and ministerial thing, is turned into a primary object, and itself made an end, and consequently becomes the source of division and altercation between the different members of the household. Now, against this worldly and secular corruption,

both of the individual man and the household, the Church is ever opposing herself in an unceasing struggle, while she endeavours, by the exhibition of her idea of the individual and the family, to correct the world's distorted perversions of both. In Christ, the individual, first of all, surrenders himself unreservedly to God; and then maintains the position and the order assigned to him by God; the family for its wedded union takes the exemplar of holy love between Christ and the Church; for the unity of its members, that of the brotherly spirit and nature of the Church of the first fruits; for its relation to property, that of the community of goods among the first Christians. These contrasts, however, are mentioned here solely for the purpose of pointing out the more distinctly the necessity of another and more pervading contrariety.

Sin, that is to say, has taken possession even of the most comprehensive and most influential domain of human life—that, viz., of the nation and the state; and in this domain its creations possess an universal importance which, in the history of the world, may be clearly traced from the beginning of the Babylonian empire, down to the close of the fourth of the great universal monarchies. Here, however, there is only this difference, that the Christian community is unable to oppose to this gigantic embodiment of sin an universal and perfectly correspondent system. In the history of Israel, however, she possesses the outlines of the form of a God-pleasing kingdom; and in the word of promise, she has the assurance that one day she shall draw together and unite these fundamental traits into a whole and perfect configuration. This holy legacy of a Divine past, and this expectation of a blissful future for this kingdom, confirmed by the Spirit of God, are the unfailing and constant possession of the Church, which renders her willing, and enables her by her testimony to set up the divine and original type of the kingdom in opposition to the world's false and distorted realisation of it. In this way she may perchance succeed in bringing the distorted form nearer to the true, and renewing its likeness to it; nay, even in supplying it with many totally new features, and in restoring it to the original shape. Only she must never yield to the delusion that, by establishing in this way her original type in the world, she has broken through that successful continuity of the world's kingdom,

which proceeds manifestly to all. According to the declaration of Scripture, this result is to be brought about in a very different way.

To that form of universal selfishness which ever constitutes the power of the world, it is given to maintain itself. Not only will it have power to put aside whatever is suggested to it on the part of the Church, so soon as it has once recognised the opposition of the Church to its own essential character; but, inasmuch as it pretends to see in the Church a power whose hostility is unceasing, inasmuch as the Church is never weary of seeking to establish the form of the kingdom committed to her against all the distorted counterfeits in the kingdoms of the world, the secular power will, by degrees, become more desirous, and, moreover, will be able to bring things to such a pass that the very existence of the Church will be more and more oppressed and brought low. By this means the Church will be obliged to set forth within itself, with evergrowing clearness and definiteness, its archetypal model of the kingdom, and to assure herself more and more of its truth and divine origin. And this again will furnish the antagonistic kingdom of the world with a new ground for cherishing its animosity, and for recklessly employing all its might and resources against the Church, the herald and minister of the divine and true kingdom. This reciprocal influence between the living idea of the kingdom of God in the Church on the one hand, and the supremacy of the kingdom of the world on the other, will arrive finally at the point where the hostility of the secular power results in a bloody persecution against the heralds of this kingdom of God.

In this extreme need the Church, owing to the unmitigated hostility of the power which exists in the world, has nothing, in the whole domain of the world, that she can claim as her own; and if, notwithstanding, she is to maintain at such a crisis her lofty courage and world-embracing counsels, in that case a belief in the sacred past of the kingdom and the hope of its holy future must furnish her with infinite compensation for all. But if she does in this way sustain the last struggle with the secular power, then the kingdom of God is already perfectly prepared and built up within the Church. It is fully adapted and made ready in the Spirit; for then it cannot for a moment be longer, that this kingdom should not be made externally manifest in its corresponding form

—a point which St Paul alludes to in the present speech, where he speaks of the inheritance of the saints (ver. 32). We thus see that the preaching of the kingdom of God is intended to contribute essentially in bringing it about, that the external form of the kingdom, both in the past and the future, should inwardly and spiritually be appropriated by the Church, and truly pervade it. And this consideration explains the fact that, in the New Testament, the kingdom of God is very often designated with reference to this its internal constitution (see iv. 17, xx. 21; Rom. xiv. 17; 1 Cor. iv. 20; Col. i. 13).

From these investigations it must have become clear that the two important expressions ἐκκλεσία and βασιλεία which occur in this speech of the Apostle are distinct notions, and are in fact supplementary of each other. And we have, moreover, at the same time, convinced ourselves that the prominent mention of these two ideas was perfectly consistent with the position and circumstances in which the Apostle was then placed; and, consequently, we do in fact actually receive in the speech that full and perfect explanation, which the critics desired only in order to be able to assert the absence of it, namely, a deeper insight into the entire character of the Apostle's labours.

It is moreover of importance to our historical investigation to examine what St Paul here says respecting his journey to Jerusalem. First of all it is of weight to find that the Apostle speaks of his journey as possessing a necessary connection with his Apostolic office; since he directly affirms that the object he has in view by it is the bearing testimony to the Gospel of the grace of God (ver. 24). We are, therefore, here also expressly led to conclude, that the Apostolic history does not intend to represent (as our critics have done), the journey to Jerusalem as having its source in a merely personal object—the wish to perform his religious duties. For it is only by regarding this journey as a matter of unavoidable official duty that it is possible to explain his fixed determination not to shrink from meeting even imminent peril For on other occasions St Paul is far from exposing himself unnecessarily to danger; thus by changing the plan of his journey, he avoided, for instance, the ambush which had been laid for him by the Jews at Corinth (cf. xx. 3), and at Ephesus he also desisted from his determination of going into the midst of the infuriated multitude on the

representations of certain prudent persons who warned him of the danger (xix. 30, 31). Now, in reference to this journey to Jerusalem, the Apostle himself declares that the Holy Spirit everywhere witnessed to him that bonds and affliction awaited him (ver. 23); and we know from Romans xv. 30, 31, that he already, for a long time, regarded with apprehension a residence amongst the Jews. And notwithstanding this, he yet declares that he was constrained by the Spirit to accomplish his journey to Jerusalem. Now, unquestionably, if the matter in question was a testimony to the Gospel—if it was a work which Paul regarded as the consummation of his previous labours; we can well understand it if he allows no threatenings to deter him, but is ready rather to risk his life, and adheres to his determination. But what are we to understand by this bearing of witness by St Paul in Jerusalem; especially when we remember that in the Holy City itself the Apostle had received the express command of the Lord not to preach to the Jews, but to the Heathens (see xxii. 18—21). Nothing else can be meant than that practical testimony, which was involved in the fact of his coming at the head of these Gentiles, who had been received into the Church of God, and by the offerings sent to Israel by those Heathens so full of love. Since St Paul, as we see from 1 Cor. xvi., had not at first made up his mind personally to take a part in the visit to Jerusalem, this resolution must consequently have been gradually formed in his mind, and indeed—an inference to which we are led by the very word ἄξιον—in the same proportion as the collections among the Gentiles proved liberal and ample, and also in the same proportion as the impression became deeper that he had now reached a definite stage in his appointed labours (see Rom. xv. 19; xx. 23). As soon, that is to say, as his previous exertions among the heathen appeared to him in such a light, that he could regard them as having attained to a certain degree of completeness externally; and as the gifts of love offered by the Gentile Churches afforded him a proof of the working of the Spirit of fellowship—consequently of a certain completeness inwardly; it became nothing less than a necessary duty in the sight of the Apostle of the Gentiles (who valued his whole office only so far as it co-operated towards the final salvation of Israel—see Rom. xi. 13, 14), to exhibit this work of God among the Gentiles

in Jerusalem, the centre and seat of Israel, that so perchance that hardened people might be provoked and moved to repentance being thus put to shame before God.

No doubt the state of things in Jerusalem is such that the very opposite result is to be expected from the presence of the Apostle. Through the whole career of the Apostle in his labours among the Gentiles, with very trifling exceptions, St Paul had met at the hands of the Jews with nothing but hatred and persecution; and this bitter experience had but very shortly before again awaited him in Corinth, and it was consequently fresh in his memory (xx. 3). And what from the very beginning had given the most occasion for this hostility of the Jews, was the impression made upon the Gentiles by the preaching of the Apostle (xiii. 45; xvii. 6, 7). It was, therefore, a very natural suggestion, that in that hostile feeling which the Jews had once taken up, they would rather receive the proposed matter-of-fact testimony to the general effect of St Paul's preaching among the Gentiles as the occasion of a new persecution, than that they should thereby be moved to shame or softened in their hearts.

It comes then to this, that in his reflections on what was his ruling destiny in Jerusalem, he was not only carried in thought to all that he had previously experienced, but also testimonies of the Spirit forced themselves upon his mind in every city *κατὰ πόλιν* (ver. 23), according to which bonds and afflictions awaited him. De Wette rightly remarks in opposition to Meyer, that these testimonies of the Spirit cannot be understood as so many inner revelations of the Spirit to the Apostle, simply on this account, that, if so, it would not be clear why St Paul should have made use of the expression *κατὰ πόλιν*. In fact, these words contain an allusion to those voices of prophecy which spoke in the several Churches, and which Meyer here fails to recognize. Consequently, that which St Paul is here speaking of is similar to what we meet with afterward in the account of his sojourn at Tyre (see xxi. 4) and also at Cesarea (see xxi. 11). For the suspicion thrown out by Schneckenburger that this remark in the Milesian address is an unhistorical Prolepsis drawn from later testimonies, which did not begin to be given until after they drew nearer to Jerusalem, is altogether groundless (see Zweck der Apostel-Geschichte, p. 135). For that the approach of the travellers towards Jerusa-

lem should have unquestionably an influence on these testimonies of the Spirit, is in itself bot hnatural and probable. And, in truth, this fact receives its due appreciation in the present narrative; inasmuch as, according to the history of the Acts, the nearer they approach to Jerusalem the stronger did these testifyings of the Spirit become. But now all that St Paul affirmed at Miletus was nothing more than the simple fact that such prophetic voices had already made themselves heard in the earlier portion of his journey. Whoever, therefore, admits the truth of these later prophesyings cannot, without inconsistency, throw a doubt upon the mention of a similar fact in the speech of the Apostle. What, then, is the purport of these prophetic voices which are repeated in every Church through which St Paul with his companions has to pass? We have already heard of one such prophetic voice from the Church, and even on that occasion we were convinced that we ought not to allow ourselves to be guided by appearances, nor to refer such prophetic witnessings, after the manner of soothsayings, to single and isolated facts; but that, on the contrary, we ought to endeavour to find in the entire history of salvation, the particular instance which may have given rise to these prophetic declarations; since nothing but the knowledge of that can enable us to understand these intimations in their true relation to the whole plan of the Divine counsels and operations (see vol. i. 301, 302). And, in fact, the historical occasion of these prophetical intimations relatively to the danger St Paul would have to encounter in Jerusalem is easily found. Since St Paul, as we clearly see from this speech, especially when preaching in the Gentile Churches, expressly made it his object to declare the whole counsel of God to the believers; and, consequently, not only to communicate to them whatever was necessary for their immediate and personal requirements, but also to extend his instruction to the whole course of the kingdom of God, it could not fail but that the several Churches which, in his journey, St Paul successively passed through, became sensible of the universal significance which belonged to this journey of the Apostle and his companions, and how it bore on the interests of the whole Church. In such a case, the important question would naturally suggest itself to their minds: what position is it likely that Israel will assume in presence of this practical attestation to the

Church of God, gathered together primarily, indeed, out of Israel, but mainly from out of the Gentile world? Will they turn unto God, or will they harden their hearts still more against Him? Now, the Spirit of God, who dwelt within the Churches, and who searched out the deep things of God, declared that the sentence of hardening had been passed upon Israel; and that Israel, even before this most glorious revelation of God's will, would continue to go on in the path it had begun to tread. And therein the truth will also be further confirmed, says the Spirit, that St Paul, instead of being recognized by them, and revered as the converter of the Gentiles unto God, will meet with persecution and imprisonment. And what in such a case could well be looked for but the death of the Apostle of the Gentiles? How, that is to say, could or ought St Paul to entertain any other thought, as well when he looked to Jerusalem as when he reflected on his own position and calling? His own experience and the voice of the Spirit whispered to him that Israel would not suffer themselves to be won over by that grand display and testimony to the power of the Gospel which he had in view, but that rather they would give vent to their rage and hatred against him. And when St Paul anticipated being given over as a prey to the malice of the Jews, on whom could he reckon for safety and protection in Jerusalem? Must it not have appeared the only option left him to expect for himself the same issue as His Lord, or else the fate of the first Martyr? I shall either (such must have been his thoughts) like Stephen be put to death on the spot by the unbridled cruelty of the Jews, or I shall, like the Holy Jesus, be delivered over to the Gentiles, and the latter will be as little able as Pilate was to withstand the insatiable fury of the Jews. And had not his Lord expressly said of him before hand, "I will shew him how great things he must suffer for my sake," (see ix. 16). Thus was it said immediately on his call; and what suffering then was worthier to be borne for Jesus' sake than to die like him? or what suffering could appear more suitable to the previous guilt and transgression of St Paul than a death similar to that of Stephen, at which Paul was present as a witness and an abettor, so that, by such a death, the harsh contrariety in the life of the Apostle would appear to be entirely smoothed away.

After all these considerations, we can well understand how St Paul could say: *καὶ νῦν ἰδοῦ, ἐγὼ οἶδα ὅτι οὐκετι ὄψεσθε τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ὑμεῖς πάντες* (ver. 25). He had made up his mind that he would be put to death by the malice of the Jews, in one or other of these ways. We must dwell a moment on this conviction, in order to sound to the very bottom the full depths of this incident. It is in fact a fearful abyss of suffering into which the Apostle Paul must here sink! We have already been witnesses to the profundity of love and endurance, and of wisdom and patience, which St Paul made use of in the discharge of his office as Apostle to the Gentiles. Now, in Rom. xi. 13, 14, he has confidingly told us that, in all his labours, and in all his sufferings among the Gentiles, the ultimate object which he kept in view was the conversion of Israel, his brethren after the flesh. In the midst of all his labours and all his joys of success in the field of Heathendom, he had met from his brethren after the flesh, with nothing but harshness and bitterness; and this sorrow is so profound and so painful to his soul, that all the fruits of everlasting life on the domain of the Gentiles, could neither lessen nor relieve it. And, now, it is St Paul's intention, as the Priest of God for both Jews and Gentiles, to offer up in the sight of the whole people at the sacred Feast of Pentecost, to the God of Israel the bread of the first fruits from the great harvest field of the Gentiles (cf. Rom. xv. 16). No deeper, no more longing, and no more urgent desire can his heart conceive than that these offerings may win the hearts of his brethren (Rom. xv. 30, 31). And yet he now knew that the very contrary would be the result. For if the Jews seize, bind, and deliver the Apostle to death, then they must first of all have hardened their hearts once more, and consequently have rejected this new testimony of grace. The prospect of death in itself is not terrible to a man like St Paul, nay, death is even desired by him (see Phil. i. 21, 23), but this death, which is here in prospect for him, possesses for our Apostle an element of surpassing bitterness and anguish. He who came with the fullness of blessing in his hands and in all that surrounded him—he who, with all the powers of his soul, invoked night and day a blessing on that very Israel which never ceased to cause him the bitterest anguish—precisely that very moment which offered the last

possible chance of his seeing his yearning desires for Israel accomplished, he had no other prospect than that his coming to bliss would not only cost him his life, but would moreover deepen and strengthen the curse upon Israel. When this prospect first of all came distinctly before his mind, he must have felt a pang beyond the power of language to express. Then, perhaps, for the third time, the wounding of his flesh by the fearful thorn that rankled in his side may have been so intolerable to him that he besought the Lord that it might depart from him (see 2 Cor. xii. 7—9). For in truth in nothing but the words of the Lord *ἀρκεῖ σοι ἡ χάρις μου· ἡ γὰρ δύναμίς μου ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τελειοῦται*, could he have found strength to look steadily at such a prospect, and also the confidence to meet it as we find him doing. If St Paul says nothing more to the elders of Ephesus than that he counts not his life as dear, if only he might finish his appointed course, we may surely compare these words to the words of the Lord to His disciples in Gethsemane, *καθίσατε αὐτοῦ ἕως οὗ ἀπελθὼν προσεύξωμαι ἐκεῖ* (Matt. xxvi. 36), upon which Bengel has the remark "indicat quod mitius est; graviora reticet."

What must have been the effect of this determination of the Apostle—which (if we leave out of consideration the whole life of Jesus) is absolutely unexampled in all history—to advance with steady step to meet this prospect of a bloody death—a resolve which for him contained the most bitter and afflicting pangs which could be described or conceived—without allowing himself to be deterred by any persuasions? (see xxi. 13). To all the Churches through which St Paul passed in his journey, the thought of the danger to which the life of the Apostle would be exposed in Jerusalem must not only have occasioned the profoundest grief, but it must also have moved them to the most earnest and heartfelt prayers and intercessions. That duty which St Paul in Corinth wrote of with a view to his visit to Jerusalem, *παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς συναγωνίσασθαί μοι ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἵνα ῥυσθῶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπειθούντων ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ* (Rom. xv. 30, 31); this duty must have been still more imperatively enjoined upon, and laid to heart by, all the Churches by the appearing of St Paul, and his unalterable resolution; so that we are compelled to assume that these interces-

sions for the holy Apostle of the Gentiles had become in these days an universal and heartfelt practice in all the Churches from Rome, through Achaia, Macedonia, Asia, Syria, as far as Cesaræa. One united earnest wrestling of prayer, *συναγωνίσασθαι* (Rom. xv. 30), therefore arose at this time through the whole body of the Gentile Churches for the life and safety of the Apostle Paul. Or are we to suppose that, because the Spirit signified in every city that bonds and afflictions awaited the Apostle, prayer would have been considered ineffectual? Such a piece of fatalistic sophistry is nowhere to be met with throughout the whole course of biblical prophecy, and was totally foreign and repugnant to the spirit of love existing in the newly formed Churches of the Gentiles. As we have already observed that the Jewish Church in Jerusalem did not cease to persevere in prayer when St Peter lay in prison, although one day after another passed away without help, and the recent death of James the Apostle might well have subdued all hope, and even St Peter himself had abandoned all hope of life; we cannot, under existing circumstances, ascribe to the Gentile Churches any other course, while contemplating the probability of the death of their Apostle. Ought we then to venture to regard such intercession and such universal wrestling of prayer in all these Gentile Churches as idle and ineffectual? In the narrative of St Peter's danger of death, and his wonderful deliverance, we are led to look upon the earnest and incessant intercession of the Church as the cause of the change that took place in the state of things. We are here evidently in the midst of a similar state of things, and we are the more confirmed in this view of the matter by the fact that, in other places, St Paul also speaks of the effect which the intercession of single Churches might exercise on his imprisonment. Not only does he expect that the supplications of the Ephesians will gain for him strength and courage to bear witness to the truth, even in his chains, with all boldness (Ephes. vi. 19, 20); but he expressly assures Philemon that, to the prayers of the Church in Philemon's house, he looked for deliverance out of prison (Philem. 22, conf. Heb. xiii. 10). How much more effectual, then, must we not suppose to have been the prayers of all the Gentile Churches in the Apostle's behalf, under such

important circumstances which, in those days, drew the eyes of all individuals towards Jerusalem? We have, moreover, while following the path of our development, discovered yet another trace which impresses us no less strongly with the great importance and efficacy of these intercessions. We have, that is to say, from the account of St Paul's sojourn in Corinth, inferred that he compared his own position to that of Daniel, both externally and internally, and that then, through his wrestling not dissimilar to that of Daniel, he had gained that security both for himself and for the Gospel to which he bears witness in the second of his contemporaneous Epistles to the Thessalonians. Now, to this wrestling in prayer St Paul had urgently called the Church of Rome in reference to his visit to Jerusalem; to this wrestling did all the Gentile Churches around feel themselves impelled by the appearance and by the fixed resolution of the Apostle, as well as by the voice of the Spirit. That which, upon Daniel's wrestling in prayer, interposed in his behalf, was the good power of the Gentiles, and this is what St Paul also experienced in Corinth. But now, if not a prophet of Israel, not an Apostle chosen from out of Israel, but the heathen, who dwelt in the surrounding islands, make their appeal to God in urgent supplication, shall not this prayer be a much stronger confirmation of the good power of the Gentiles? And is it not exactly that which will be shown to us at a later period in Jerusalem? —a totally unexpected intervention of the secular power of the Gentiles which rescued the Apostle, already devoted to death, and placed him in security, is here detailed. We shall find that St Luke makes it a special point of duty to inform us of this preserving power of the Roman people and government in all its special features as clearly as possible, and so much so indeed that exceptions have been taken to this very circumstantial minuteness of the account. But why has not the quiet retiring course which the development of our history follows, been observed and traced with greater care and fidelity? It would then have been found that all these external details have a very deep background—namely, that to which the weeping and supplication of the Gentile Churches immediately point. This alone throws a clear light on the perfectly assured and undoubting declaration of the Apostle, "I know that all of you will see my face no

more." We must suppose that this declaration was actually founded on an objective certainty, and we must assume that it was truly determined in the Divine counsels that St Paul should suffer death in Jerusalem, just as the life of King Hezekiah was run out in the fourteenth year of his reign, as certainly as the gnomon of his father's sun-dial pointed with its shadow to the evening. But in the same way as Jehovah rescued the King from the realms of death, and added another fifteen years to his life, because He had heard his supplications and had beheld his tears; so in this instance the Roman imperial power must, perforce, deliver the Apostle though already condemned to death, and secure to him the possibility of a new career of labour, even because God had graciously heard the supplication and mourning of the Gentile Churches, both on the mainland and in the isles.

The third point of importance which possesses an historical bearing in the speech is the declarations concerning the future fortunes of the Churches. When, for instance, St Paul, in ver. 29, draws our attention to the rise of false teachers from the very midst of the Churches themselves, and invokes the fidelity and vigilance of the elders against them (ver. 3), this is not, as Schneckenburger maintains (see Zweck der Apostelgeschichte S. 136), so abstract and vague an allusion that it is impossible to form any clear conception of the matter; but, on the contrary, it is an intimation which points to a very definite step in the development of Church history. That which Baur has asserted in his essay (die sogenannte Pastoralbriefe. S. 92) with regard to these declarations of the Apostle, is perfectly true, that therein a view is opened out of false teachers who are quite distinct from the first that appeared in the Apostolical times, the Judaisers, and which therefore carries us onward to a later period, the time, namely, in which the Pastoral Epistles originated. Baur, however, makes no other use of this comparison than to force the speech before us and the Pastoral Epistles mutually to throw suspicion on each other, and then to insist that they must be assigned to a date posterior to the Apostles. But Neander has already met this objection of critical arrogance with the remark that the local relations of the Asiatic Churches contain the conditions under which a peculiarly heathen heresy developed itself, and that St Paul, from his long residence

in those parts, was already able to recognise the germs of it (see Geschichte der Pflanzung 1. 375—386). As to what concerns Ephesus, we have already recognised what the course of our narrative has almost forced upon our notice, the tendency of this city to many kinds of delusions in the province of religion, and we may once again refer to this subject in the words of Creuzer: "Ephesus was, above all others, the place where the oriental views were, in various ways, combined with the philosophy and mythology of Greece. In truth, this city was a complete storehouse of magical arts and deceptions" (see Symbol. und Mythol. ii. 195. 2. An.) And since Ephesus was the Christian metropolis of Asia, and consequently the elders of Ephesus represented the Churches of its extensive region, we also must extend our glance, and then we find, in the existing state of the intellectual circumstances of those regions, manifold and ample support for this assertion of the Apostle. In the false doctrine which arose shortly after this date in the Church of Colosse, Baumgarten Crusius discovers traces of Phrygian sentiments and modes of thought, as giving it its predominant tone (see Nachgelassene exegetische Schriften zum N. T. iii. 1, 2, 204, 205), while Bahr recognises a modification "of oriental philosophemes and speculation" (see Commentar über den Br. an die Coloss. p. 7). Moreover, impossible as it is to fail to recognise the influence of a Jewish tendency in the formation of these erroneous doctrines which are condemned in the Pastoral Epistles, it is nevertheless universally admitted that a heathen influence is also to be traced in them (see Wiesinger S. 218). But it is acknowledged this false doctrine leads us into the very region to which the speech before us refers. And this Gentile character, which becomes constantly more and more predominant in false doctrine, may be still further traced in the Church, and in truth, pre-eminently in this region which Paul had in his eye. The heresies to which the first Epistle of St John alludes, and which undoubtedly we have also to look for in Asia Minor, the scene of this Apostle's latest labours, must be considered as partaking of the same character (see Lucke, Schriften. des Johannes iii. 63—74, 2te Ausg.; Neander Geschichte und Pflanzung ii. 492; Credner Einleitung i. 2, 680—684; Rothe Anfänge der Kirche, S. 323, 324; Thiersch, Versuch zur Herstellung des historischen Standpunctes S. 238). The heathen character of this tendency

shows itself more and more in open licentiousness and immorality, as is made still more evident especially by those features which are denounced in the Epistles of St Jude and St Peter, and lastly by the Apocalyptic Epistle of St John (see Thiersch ibid. S. 366; Neander Geschichte der Pflanz. ii. 487—489; Rothe S. 324).

But not only is it incumbent on us to show that the expression of St Paul in reference to the peril of false doctrine is historically intelligible; we have also the task of discovering what motive induced St Luke to communicate them to us so circumstantially and so minutely—a circumstance which becomes the more remarkable from the fact that he tells us so very little of the Judaizing errors. The examination of this point will prove to us that the mention which here occurs of false doctrine forms a necessary element in the context of our narrative; while by this perception, that silence with regard to the Judaizing errors to which these critics are constantly calling our attention as to a suspicious circumstance, will be perfectly explained, and will be shown to be the necessary pendant to the present expressions of the Apostle concerning the future false doctrines, and the duty of contending against them.

In order to answer that question, we must revert to that point in the historical development of the Church where the significance of apostacy, with regard to the final course of human history, first dawned upon the mind of the Apostle. This point we have recognised in that of the Apostle's experience when he must fain witness the painful fact of the combination of the rebellious Jews with the heathen power against the kingdom of God. This event produced in his mind the doctrine of the great apostacy in which the man of sin should be revealed. Associated in the same combination of historical experience, he became at the same time convinced that the working out and consummation of this apostacy would for yet awhile be kept back by the good influence of Gentilism which should reveal itself as working in the ordinances and justice of the Roman empire. Now the very fact that this apostacy is impeded, involves the possibility that it may assume an entirely different form from that in which it first appeared, and in which it showed itself at an earlier period in the times of the preliminary consummation of iniquity. The good power of the

Gentiles it is which prevented the shameful treachery of the Jews, that dark mystery of crime, from attaining to its realisation. Hence it becomes possible that this enormity of evil may receive its punishment from the hands of the secular power, as it had already happened that the power of this world had been employed by Jehovah for the chastisement of His people. In this way the rebellious children of Israel who, in their collective body, had polluted themselves by this criminal apostacy, would be set forth as publicly condemned and now entirely isolated from the whole world. For the secular power of the Gentiles would be made a rod for the chastening of Israel, and the people of Jesus among the Gentiles would, by their faith, be separated from the unbelieving Israel. Then this apostacy of Israel, thus punished, would also be of no further historical consequence. In such a crisis, however, arose the possibility of another apostacy within the bosom of the Gentile Churches. The fact that the good power of the heathen world attained an influence and a recognition in the history of the world involved the possibility that the development of the Gentile Churches should advance, and in due time be consummated. The more entirely that the people of Israel had by their last consummation of wickedness given themselves over to a just and manifest condemnation, and had also openly displayed themselves as a rebellious and unbelieving people, so much the more perfectly do those heathen Churches who believe in Jesus —the Christ of Israel—become fitted to represent the spiritual aspect of the true and essential Israel. If, therefore, the essence of Israel was to be carried on and to be propagated among the Gentile Churches, then there is here also the same possibility of an apostacy present as had already in the external Israel attained to a manifestation in the world's history. Now, at the very beginning, upon the first passage of the Church over into the domain of the heathen, when, so to speak, it had only just touched the threshold, the tendency of the Gentile character to corrupt and to mystify the faith at once meets us (see vol. i. 189, 190).

It is correctly remarked by Rothe (ibid. p. 319), that the assertion of certain parties at Corinth that the resurrection was already passed (1 Cor. xv. 12), which dangerous delusion St Paul, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, goes to work so

earnestly to refute, was a prelude to the subsequent corruption of the Christian doctrine in the Gentile Church. But we have not to look for the first impulse to such false teaching among the Essenes with Credner (see Einleitung ii. 1. 364), and Rothe (see ibid.), or among the Sadducees with Thiersch (see Herstellung des historischen Standpuncts S. 235, 236), but as in every case of error in the Corinthian Church we must recognise here also the disturbing element of heathenism (see Dietlein. Urchristenthum S. 151), so in that opposition to the dogma of the resurrection so distinctive of Hellenic heathenism, and which we have already met with at Athens (see Acts xvii. 13—32), we shall be obliged to recognise the first cause of this heretical phenomenon. Since, therefore, it was during his sojourn at Ephesus that the Apostle received information of this profoundly encroaching pollution of pagan unbelief within the most flourishing Churches of Western Christendom; this circumstance must naturally have sharpened his eyes the more to discern that liability to heretical teaching which existed so pre-eminently in Ephesus and Asia Minor. To the Apostle we may, without hesitation, concede the possession of a deeply penetrating glance into the spiritual relation and conditions of the world, and especially into those of his immediate vicinity. Consequently it must be not only allowable, but even imperative on us, if we would wish to understand the full extent of his declarations relatively to the future fortunes of the Asiatic Churches, to take into consideration the after development of the heresy on the domain of Gentile Christendom, and especially in that province into which the attention of Paul was particularly directed. In general, it has been already remarked, that it is no less obviously manifest than it is also universally acknowledged, that this heretical tendency which, in the later and latest of the Apostolical times, displayed itself in such strength and rank luxuriance, followed the very path which Paul here points out. In order fully to confirm this, we have only to show that this path had a decidedly heathen character. We will now, to avoid the course of the less definitely marked of these manifestations, and consequently of those which admit of various modes of explication, confine ourselves to those characteristics alone which furnish us with the fullest and most comprehensive

survey of the course of those heresies. These we undeniably find in the writings of St John—his Epistles, and essentially in the Revelations. In the latter composition he describes to us the shape in which the seductive doctrines will present themselves in the Church. But the Epistles, as well those which are contained in the Revelations, as well as those written directly by St John, indicate to us the connection in which the final state of false teaching stands with the manifestations which had already taken place in the times of the Apostles; just in the same way as St Paul, while noticing the menacing appearance of the heresies which were at that time gaining the ascendancy, adverts to the final rise of heresies in the last times (1 Tim. iv. 11). In these declarations which embrace the whole of the future of the Church in respect to heresies, the impress of a specific pagan tendency appears distinct and unmistakeable.

When John concludes his first Epistle with the exhortation, which is rendered still more impressive from the position it occupies, *τεκνία φυλάξατε ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων* (1 John v. 21), he evidently intended thereby to call attention to the great danger which threatened the doctrine. How then was it possible that for this exhortation he should use a form of expression which the whole history and holy writing of the Old Testament had stamped as a special warning against apostacy to paganism, unless he had recognized the same danger in a tendency to the peculiar errors of paganism? And it is precisely in the same form and manner that the Apocalyptic Epistles describe the corruptions and dangers existing in the Churches of Asia Minor. For even if we leave the Nicolaitans out of the question, the doctrine of Balaam, which was promulgated in the Church of Pergamus (Rev. ii. 14), by its very name is plainly enough characterized as heathen in its origin; but, almost superfluously, it is yet added that its object was to tempt the people to eating of things sacrificed to idols, and to committing fornication. And the same conclusion is also pointed out plainly enough by the no less significant name of Jezebel, to whom the same designs are attributed (see Rev. ii. 20). As, therefore, these Epistles to the seven Asiatic Churches refer primarily—a view which, of all those that relate to the Book of Revelations, may be classed among those which are most clearly made out

and acknowledged—to relations and circumstances actually existing at the time, so likewise in the present day it may be assumed as an admission pretty generally allowed, that the further declarations of this prophetic book allude to the last and final consummation of all history. In the final confusion and perplexity of nations a voice from heaven proclaims the everlasting Gospel (see Rev. xiv. 6, 7) exactly in the same comprehensive summary as that with which the Apostle bids farewell to his readers in his first Epistle (see 1 John v. 21), with the exception that what is here expressed negatively is there asserted in positive terms. Now, that the power which, according to the prospect thus prophetically opened out to us, is to prevail in the last days of the world, and to persecute the Church of Christ, is a pagan power, may be safely inferred simply from the circumstance that this power will claim the worship of men (see Rev. xiii. 17), and will actually receive it universally on the earth (see xiii. 8). This power, however, in and by itself possesses nothing analogous to the perverted and seducing doctrines with which we are here occupied. However, in addition to this might of heathendom, another creature is revealed which stands in union with it, and which promotes its objects and assists in realizing them. For this creature constrains the earth and the inhabitants thereof to fall down and worship the beast which came forth out of the abyss, and it possesses the power to effect this by reason of its seductive and magical virtues which enable it to work signs and wonders both in heaven and earth; but, above all, it even succeeds in making an image of this beast that had the power over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations, and to breathe into it both life and speech (see Rev. xiii. 11—15). Now that which, in this delineation of this creature associated with the beast possessing the power of the world, appears to be most obvious, is immediately afterwards asserted with more definiteness and precision—that, viz., this creature is the personal climax of all false prophecy (see Rev. xix. 20). In all this we have clearly pointed out the connection between the Epistles and the visions of the Revelations in reference to the point which we are here considering. The Gentile Church to which, in the latter period of his life, the Apostle John considered his labours to be assigned, was in his mind included in and represented by these

seven Churches of Asia Minor. That, however, St John did not entertain the same comprehensive view of the Church as we have seen in St Paul, cannot be inferred, as Rothe supposes it may (see Anfänge der Kirche p. 283) from the profound spirituality of St John; for we have perceived that the Pauline conception of the Church by no means limited the spirituality and inward piety of the individual. It is however clear, that by reason of the original and permanent position of his Apostolate in Israel, he was not in a condition with his thoughts and efforts to take a firm standing within the development of the Christian Church; but, on the contrary, it is perfectly and alone consistent with his position that he should recognize the idea of the unity of the divine communion on earth not in the Church but in a nation and a kingdom. Accordingly, the times for the development of the Gentile Churches appears to St John to be a period in which the unity of the holy communion is perfectly latent, inasmuch as it revealed itself in nothing more than a series of Churches standing together in local proximity. Holding this historical point of view of the kingdom, St John could have felt no interest in dwelling on the successive stages of this hidden development (so totally devoid of unity) of the Christian communion; as, however, there does not exist any other connecting link with the final development and accomplishing of this kingdom than that which was to be traced in this unconnected and hidden history of the Gentile Church, a twofold necessity constrained the Apostle on the one hand to attach himself to the present development of these heathen Churches, and then to point out what was finally to arise out of that hidden course at its termination. Now St John discerned two results springing from the development which the Gentile Churches would follow; an innumerable multitude out of all kindreds, peoples, nations, and tongues, which come to stand before the throne of the Lamb, and, by means of the Gentile Church, are redeemed from out of the world unto everlasting life (see Rev. vii. 9); but, on the other hand, there is that beast of false prophecy which was equally to arise out of the progress of these Gentile Churches. For since it is a prophetic creature, and operates prophetically, it is consequently of a spiritual nature; and since it has horns, like the Lamb, its external form and appearance is therefore borrowed from the Church

(xiii. 11). We see, therefore, that in the Gentile Churches it is not only faith and patience, love and works, that go on and multiply, but also the heathen element of seduction and false prophecy, and that this element in the last crisis will attain to a marvellous power and influence. And in this consummation of false prophecy its genuine pagan type again shews itself in the most unmistakeable manner. For the greatest work which it produces, and to which its best powers are devoted, and with which it exercises the most pernicious influence, is the image of a something which is not God, and yet receives divine honour from all peoples and tongues.

If, therefore, this is the result of that corruption which exists in the Gentile Church, of which St Paul here announces the beginning to the elders of Ephesus, we can well understand that which St Paul opposes to such corruption. With this menacing danger before him St Paul once more reverts to his own conduct during the three years of his residence in Ephesus, and sets it before them as a model, while he intimates to them that, by the same course, they would most effectually defy and check its baleful influence. On this repeated allusion of the Apostle to his own labours many various and untenable views have been entertained, simply because the view has not been kept steadily fixed on the nature of that perversity to which St Paul so impressively calls the attention of the Ephesian elders. Meyer has regarded the mention of his unselfish and gratuitous labours in the Churches (vv. 33—35) in the simple sense of the words as containing "a solemn warning against avarice and covetousness, in the exercise of the duties of the chief offices of the Church." But if this were so, Zeller would have good reason to wonder how St Paul could ever have come to impose as a duty upon all other teachers and portions of the Church, a practice of self-denial and disinterestedness which he has elsewhere (see 1 Cor. ix. 1—27; Gal. vi. 6) expressly limited to his own person and position (see Theol. Jahrbuch. 1849. 554), and Olshausen has arrived at the conclusion that St Paul intends by these words to defend himself against the reproaches of the Judaizers. But since these reproaches do not here appear, and there is not even a trace of Judaizers in this passage, such a supposition can only tend to confirm the view of the apologetic character of our narrative?

and Schneckenburger (see Zweck der Apostelgeschichte p. 137) and Zeller (ibid.) have not allowed this remark of Olshausen to be lost, but have availed themselves of it as a confirmation of their own hypothesis. But what if the sentiments and mode of acting which are exhibited so plainly in the unselfish proceedings of the Apostle, furnish the sole as well as the only real weapon of defence against that corruption with which the Gentile Churches were already threatened? In such a case must not the scruples which have been taken at this (so-called) over-strong recurrence of egoism disappear? Will not the speech still remain steadily at the high point it generally assumes, and retain it throughout unto the end?

Now, from the very first, the nature of the heathen antagonism to the Gospel in its special difference to the Jewish has, in various ways, manifested itself as having its root in a palpable and material selfishness. Consequently, the shape which that heretical opposition to the truth which will spring up out of the heathen soil will also be of this kind. And such was already even the opinion of the Apostle Paul, for of the enemies of the Cross of Christ, against whom, at a later date, he warns the Church at Philippi, he writes, "whose God is their belly; who mind earthly things" (see Phil. iii. 19). In its most complete, and at the same time, most awful form, this material selfishness is manifested in the pseudo prophetic cast of the latter days. Those from among whom the evil men and seducers of the last dreadful times are to proceed, are described as *φίλαυτοι, φιλάργυροι, ἀκρατεῖς, φιλήδονοι μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόθεοι* (see 2 Tim. iii. 1—4). And St John sketches these features before us in a vivid combination. The simple fact that the false prophet is the only congenerous associate of the beast out of the bottomless pit, serves to set forth this aspect of the matter in a broad light, for the beast out of the bottomless pit has power and authority over all the gifts and good things and properties of the earth. If, then, the false prophet employs all his seductive artifices and means to gain for the beast the adoration and worship of all that dwell upon the earth, he has evidently placed all his prophetical powers, all his intellectual and spiritual capacities, in the service of force and matter. In one trait especially is this placed in the clearest light possible—in the sentence which declares that

he manages to cause all, both small and great, rich and poor, bond and free, to receive the mark of the beast on their right hands and on their foreheads, and in the statement which is thereupon immediately added, that no man might buy and sell, save he that had this mark (see Rev. xiii. 16, 17).

If, then, the seductive and corrupting tendency which was contained in the development of the Gentile Church bears on its face such a character of grossly material selfishness, it must be evident that there is not, and cannot be, any effectual counteraction of this corruption except the greatest independence possible of all the external gifts and good things of the world in those who are to govern these communities. Against the transparent might of the powers of the world, the Church must draw all its powers of resistance from its cheerful contempt of death; but against the slowly working and insidious influence of their pseudo-prophetic seductions, nothing but unswerving self-denial, and the independence of an ecclesiastical organization, based on the simplest and most natural relations and wants, can alone avail to furnish a resistance.

"Here is the patience and the faith of the saints" (see Rev. xiii. 10). Viewed in this light, the proceedings of St Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, become singularly impressive and instructive, and reach far beyond the immediate present—aye, even unto the latest times, in which alone they will be fully understood. By the fact that St Paul went through the lands and cities of the Gentiles, and taking nothing, did but bring and give, he made the great impression he did on the selfish heathen world, and it thereby became possible to cast down all the high places of human imagination before the Word of Christ (see 2 Cor. x. 5). And so also the Church of Christ in the midst of the world of the Gentiles will only fulfil its appointed task by remaining faithful to this fundamental law of their Apostle, of giving without receiving. By this alone can it attain to a firm and independent existence, from which it will be enabled to chastise, to move, to heal, and to improve the world. In the same degree, however, that it forsakes this its true position, it becomes dependent on the powers of the world; and while it afflicts the true prophetic Spirit bestowed upon it by God, it assumes also that spirit of prophecy. Since then the highest need of the

Church, as regards external things, is the exercise of the office of pastor and teacher, and in this part of her external organisation her care is invariably turned outwards, consequently any exhortation which regards the preservation of the liberty and independence of the Church in the world is naturally most especially directed to the elders of Ephesus, and their associates and successors. St Paul, however, in so doing, entertains the very natural feeling that he could not build this exhortation to the pastors of the Gentile Churches solely on his own precedent; he therefore adds thereto a saying of the Lord, and indeed one for which, as it is well known, we have exclusively to thank this mention of it. Simply on account of this circumstance, this section of the speech of St Paul must possess an universal significance, that these precious words of Jesus, "It is more blessed to give than to receive," will prove for the development of the whole Gentile Church, even to the end (in the reference we have pointed out), a necessary standard no less than an all sufficient strength.

We are not to be disturbed from giving this universal significance to the precedent of St Paul, and to this saying of Jesus, by any consideration that it might appear as if any form of the Church in the world, and any building up of it out of the elements of the world, which have been consecrated by the Spirit, and through faith, were by such a view antecedently precluded, and as if such a development, if nevertheless it had found a place for itself, were, without further consideration, to be rejected and branded as an apostacy. In the case of this, and of all other Divine sayings, what Jesus said applies: "My words—they are Spirit, and they are life. The flesh profiteth nothing." Although, in the words here communicated by St Paul, Jesus uttered His profoundest convictions, yet no deed was so praised and extolled by Him as the pouring out of the costly ointment by Mary in Bethany. And, although St Paul adopted and carried it out as a fundamental rule to maintain himself and his helpmates by the work of his own hands; yet he writes, "I know how to be abased, and I know how to abound: every where, and for all, I am instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer want" (see Philipp. iv. 12). And precisely on this account he was able, notwithstanding the above principle,

not only to receive the gifts brought to him from Philippi, but ready to enjoy them with all his heart, and moreover to recognize therein and to give thanks for the special working and fruits of Divine grace (Philip. iv. 17). That which is here pointed out by St Paul as the abiding rule, is the view which is declared both by his own practice and the words of Jesus. That, however, such a view is very far from excluding the possibility of an establishment of the Church in the world, but is capable of duly estimating and venerating the Divine grace in the same, is clearly demonstrated by the facts we have just adduced. Of the universal significance of that self-denying, self-suffering, and blessed state of mind, in regard to the constitution of the Church in the world, we shall necessarily be the more fully convinced, the more clearly it results from a survey of the historical development of the Church in the Gentile world, that precisely in the same proportion that this principle is lost sight of by the rulers of the Church, this fault becomes immediately a cause of offence to the weak; who are always to be found (see Neander Geschichte der Pflanzung i. 376, 377. Anm.) and furnishes occasions which the system of false prophecy takes advantage of; and the more painfully it must affect us to find that the helpless and depressed state of the Church in the present day is traceable to that very fact that the Gentile Church, from the absence of that spirit, so emphatically recommended by St Paul, is borne down with the oppression of political and territorial potentates.

One only difficulty still remains for us to remove. Even when it is allowed that the close of the speech before us does possess so profound and universal a reference, it may still occasion fresh surprise that not a syllable of mention is made of the heretical tendency which was already existing, and at the same time belonged to the future, namely, the Judaising tendency. For among those forms of heresy which arose towards the end of the Apostolic period, and which we have been led to consider by St Paul's allusion to the coming wolves, the Judaizing element is plainly discernible; and, as regards the following age, it cannot be for a moment denied that the Judaistic character prevails in that enormous corruption of the Gentile Church, a territorial hierarchy. Accordingly it would seem that the view

taken of the danger which had already begun to assail the Gentile Church was not complete, and so modern critics, with their surprise at the silence of our book in reference to Judaism, again receives some support. But in my opinion the following consideration will remove this difficulty. We have seen that the Gentile Church is with full right to be looked upon as the true spiritual Israel. And the more decidedly the external Israel exhibits its apostacy, the more perfectly must this conception of the Gentile Christian community establish itself. But then, if the Church of the Gentiles is the spiritual Israel, the shadow to this light must be the Pseudo-Israel; and hence it follows that the same phenomenon may and will be repeated within the Gentile Church, which we have witnessed in the time of the Jewish Church; that, viz., a false Judaism will rise in opposition to the spirit of Christianity; and just as this false Judaism has its seat in the very heart of the official representatives of Judaism: so likewise the second shape of this false Judaism may, as St Paul here intimates, originate in the very midst of the teachers of the Church; in short, that may be repeated in Rome which we have already seen taking place in Jerusalem. And it is precisely in this way that St John delineates to us the seducers in the present and in the future. As well of the seducers in Smyrna as of those in Philadelphia, he declares, that they say they are Jews whereas they are of the synagogue of Satan (see Rev. ii. 9; iii. 9); and when he says of the false prophet of the last days that the beast which symbolised him had horns like the Lamb (see Rev. xiii. 11), this trait cannot well be otherwise understood than by the semblance which the final power shall put on of being the servant of Jehovah who is designated as the Lamb of God. But now, according to this, the whole of the seduction to heresy, even for the Gentile Church, would be Judaism, whereas we have just learned to regard Ethnicism as the chief agent and influence in its corruption. But we must not overlook the fact that the ground and soil has become changed in the Gentile Church; and the temptation comes not from the Spirit, but from the flesh; but now the flesh in the Gentile Church is not Jewish, but Gentile; consequently, however, although the heresy within the Gentile Church may assume a Jewish shape, still its true strength is furnished by the material selfishness of

Paganism; and Judaism is but the form of its manifestation. On this account, even while we consider St Paul's speech from that universal point of view which St Luke holds before us while he communicates this address, St Paul is perfectly justified when he commends to these pastors and rulers of the Gentile Church a pure and free feeling of independence of the world as the best preservative of the Churches against the corruptions of these evil seducers. As to what further concerns the Judaistic form in which all the heresies of the Gentile Church were to appear; St Paul may well have supposed, that his hearers were well acquainted with the final decision, applicable to all times, which had been taken in Jerusalem with reference to Judaism. And as concerns St Luke, he has given us an intimation, that in the Gentile Church a new apostacy was preparing. But at the same time he has provided that this future time should not, in the midst of the great perils and perplexities which should then arise, be wanting in firm stays and supports furnished from these times of the normal beginnings of the Church. As an antidote to the repetition of the Judaizing elements, he has furnished us with the narrative of the assembly in Jerusalem, while he has handed down this report of St Paul's speech in Miletus as a warning against the corrupting ethnical element.

§ 31. ST PAUL IN JERUSALEM RESCUED FROM DANGER OF DEATH BY THE ROMAN TRIBUNAL.

(Chap. xxi.)

St Paul's journey, as he travels from Miletus, assumes a different character from that which has hitherto marked these last and independent travels of the Apostle. His address to the Ephesians has, in a very comprehensive manner, shown us that St Paul commenced his journey for Jerusalem under a firm conviction, that he was taking his departure from the previous scene of his labours. And it would also appear that St Luke himself, when commencing the continuation of his narrative, wished to impress us with the consciousness of this turning point. For as Meyer rightly observes, the expression ἀποσπασθέντας "marks a separation

reluctantly made and enforced by a conviction of necessity." By these it is asserted that this feeling of the bitterness and pain of separation existed not only in those who were left behind (see xx. 37, 38), but also for those who were departing, and especially for St Paul (cf. Luke xxii. 41). Is not this a hint that there was found on this occasion a reciprocity of feeling such as did not afterwards occur again? Accordingly it might almost be supposed that St Luke, if he had rigidly kept his original plan in sight, and on every occasion had wished to report nothing that did not in some measure contribute to the general development of the whole Church, would not have deemed it incumbent on him to record the details of St Paul's farther journey from Miletus; and then the thought might easily suggest itself, that the accounts which now follow are merely brief and unconnected notices which, although devoid of any bearing on the whole matter, have been set down by the author merely because he had happened to be an eye-witness of them. Although, then, on the supposition of a fixed plan for the whole work, such a proceeding might and would always be considered pardonable, yet on a closer consideration St Luke will be found to stand in no need of any such indulgence and pardon.

For, in fact, the very statements which are given us in the Acts relatively to the latter portion of this journey, place in a still stronger light the essential character of the whole of the journey as completed to Jerusalem. These details are partly of a purely geographical character, and partly relate to the statistics of the Church. To the first class belong the mention of islands, harbours, and countries which relate exclusively to the direction and halting places of the journey. External and unconnected as these data may appear to be, they nevertheless possess a definite bearing on the general purport of the narrative before us. But above all, from these hints we obtain a vivid impression of a sea voyage. The very terms: *ἀναχθῆναι*, ver. 1; *ἀνήχθημεν*, ver. 2; *κατήχθησαν*, ver. 3; *εὐθυδρομήσαντες*, ver. 1; *πλοῖον*, ver. 2; *καταλιπόντες αὐτὴν εὐώνυμον*, ver. 3; *ἐπλέομεν*, ver. 4; *τὸ πλοῖον ἀποφορτιζόμενον*, ver. 3; *αἰγίαλον*, ver. 5; *τὸ πλοῖον*, ver. 6; *τὸν πλοῦν διανύσαντες*, ver. 7; necessarily awaken this impression in us. Moreover, the whole of the names which here occur refer to islands, seaport towns, and coast lands; of these

names, prominent mention is made of the three well-known Greek-peopled islands of Cos, Rhodes, and Cyprus (ver. 1 ; ver. 3), and also the Tyrian harbour of Patara (ver. 1) ; the coast of Phenicia (ver. 2), and the Phenician seaport of Tyre, (ver. 3), as well as the seaport town of Palestine, Ptolemais, (ver. 7) ; and if, lastly, Syria is mentioned, it is merely the coast line of it that is meant, since it is only the direction of the voyage by sea that is spoken of. By these geographical particulars concerning the last portion of St Paul's journey, it is therefore intended strongly to remind us once more that St Paul, with his companions and gifts, was coming from the land of the Isles—from the lands on the other side of the sea to Jerusalem. But the more vividly this is brought before our minds, the more distinctly must the arrival of the Apostle of the Gentiles, in the city of God, with the witnesses and the proofs of the conversion of the heathen unto the God of Israel, be regarded as an exhibition and realisation of the great change, of which the prospect had been held out to the heathen world in the promises of the Old Testament.

But still more circumstantial and intentional are those notices in the account of the latter portion of this journey which relate to the condition of the Churches in the several towns they come to. What general object these details have in view in the present passage, was, by anticipation, indicated to us even in the report of the Apostle's stay in Troas (see xx. 6—12). St Paul is unquestionably the great incomparable instrument of God for the conversion of the Gentiles. But still, as the conversion of Israel was not, as we have seen, tied to the persons of the twelve Apostles of Israel, so neither was the conversion of the Gentiles exclusively tied to the person of St Paul. The first and the last in all things is, and ever will be, the Lord ; and as this truth is more overlooked in details than in general, therefore the Lord has not omitted to manifest plainly enough in historical ways this His supreme absolute power. As St Luke, with evident design, has shewn that the work of the Apostle in the most important Church of the whole West found a continuation in Apollos, so now also he evidently makes it his purpose to demonstrate that the work of converting the Gentiles, which, by the operations of the Apostle, had received all necessary solidity, depth, and amplitude, was already so firmly established, that even in those places

whither the foot of the Apostle had never stepped, we must look upon it as standing in the most perfect agreement and harmony with the Apostle Paul and the Churches established by him. Since, then, the work of the conversion of the heathen in the same degree claims the more to be considered as having attained to a certain preliminary close, as even independently of the personal labours of the Apostle of the Gentiles it had already attained to a certain degree of stability, so the pointing out of this partial independence of the source of the conversion of the Gentiles (which, by this visit of the Apostle and his companions, is at once ratified and confirmed to us) is perfectly concordant with what we have already recognised and asserted to be the object and meaning of the present journey of St Paul.

A more accurate consideration of the several features here given will not only strongly confirm, but also explain the view here advanced. The report carries us first of all to Tyre, which city of the Canaanites is described in its commercial character, since we are told the cargo of the ship was for that port (ver. 3). The extensive commerce of Tyre, and the fact that this city belonged to Phœnicia, which is alluded to in ver. 2, bring to remembrance the description which, in the Old Testament, the prophets gave of this city. For when the very ancient Canaanitish city of Sidon (see Gen. x. 19) had yielded the pre-eminence to the young fortress of Zor or Tyre (see Joshua xix. 29), the latter was at the head of the maritime cities of Phœnicia. The good understanding which subsisted between the Princes of Tyre and Kings David and Solomon naturally could not be lasting, since the Canaanite character had not been obliterated in them. All the good that, in the times of David and Solomon, Israel derived from Tyre was more than outweighed by the evil which was brought upon Israel and Judah by Jezebeel the daughter of a king of Tyre (see 1 Kings xvi. 30—33). By the introduction of the Canaanite worship of Baal the ungodly character of Tyre was forcibly brought home to the minds and conviction of the prophets of Israel; they saw in the extensive commerce, and in the opulence of the inhabitants of Tyre, the occasion and the support of this abomination of idolatrous worship. Inasmuch as Tyre gathered together within its walls all that was rich and glorious in the whole world, and put their

trust in, and revelled in these riches, it appeared to the prophets as a city of the world which must stand side by side with Babel, and represented to them that aspect of the secular empire of the world which held sway over the possession and the enjoyment of all the riches and splendours of this world—a view which we again meet with in the Apocalyptic description of Babel. Under such an impression Isaiah lifts up his voice against Tyre to threaten it (see chap. xxiii.), and Ezekiel also (see chap. xxvi. 3—28, xix.), and so too Zechariah (see ix. 8). Isaiah, however, held out to this utterly corrupt city the prospect of a time of salvation after its chastisement (see xxiii. 18). Now, does not our report, which informs us of the presence of a Christian community in the midst of this commercial city of Canaan, remind us strongly of this prediction of the prophet Isaiah in reference to Tyre? If Tyre had been any other city in the Gentile world, this allusion would possess no importance soever; but, according to the biblical view which we have noticed, this great Canaanite city is a central seat of paganism, and consequently the beginning of a fulfilment no less remarkable than that Isaiah should ever have prophesied concerning it. Moreover, for the mind which entertains no doubt of the historical connection between the Old and the New Testaments, a question cannot exist that the account which the Gospel gives of the coming of the Lord in the parts of Tyre and Sidon, and the finding of "the great faith" in the Canaanitish woman in this region, prepares for, and introduces the present account of a Church of believers in the city of Tyre, just as the Gospel narrative of the Samaritan woman anticipates the section of the Acts which describes the effects of the preaching of Philip in Samaria. Here, however, there is something more than the faith of the Syro-phenician woman. Those great vessels of the sea, those ships of Tarshish, in which man generally prides himself so highly (see Isai. ii. 16), and of which Tyre especially, the great market-place of all the Gentiles (see Ezek. xxviii. 12—24) was so proud and lifted up (see Isai. xxiii. 1; Ezek. xxviii. 25, 26) were destined, according to the prediction of Isaiah, one day to serve the Lord, and to bring home to their country and to the sanctuary of the Lord the sons of Israel though scattered in all quarters, and also in the land of the Islands (see Isai. lx. 9). Of

the exact fulfilling of these predictions, there cannot be any room to speak as yet, much less in the days of St Paul; but still, if the ship of the sea which sailed from Patara to Tyre and there unladed her cargo—if this trading vessel, thus connecting together Tyre and the Isles, at the same time carries as her passenger the Apostle of the Gentiles, and the members of the heathen nations far and wide who had been admitted into the communion of God, and, moreover, the gifts of love from the Gentile Churches in Galatia, Asia, Macedonia, and Achaia—and it was conveying these the purest gains of all the traffic of the Gentile world that ever was, unto their true end and destination, to the holy mountain in the city of God—is not this at all events the beginning of the work by which God will make all the riches and resources of heathendom to minister to His people, of which work the prophet Isaiah in this prediction is speaking of the consummation? So also it is nothing more than a beginning of the fulfilment of that other prediction of the final destruction of Tyre (see Isai. xxiii. 18) if a Church of God exists in this city. For Meyer is perfectly right when he remarks that the words ἀνευρόντες τοὺς μαθητὰς contain an allusion to the great multitude, amidst which the small number of the disciples must have been almost a vanishing and imperceptible body. But that there should have been any disciples at all in Tyre is a proof that the times of the Gentiles were come, and that even the lowest of the heathen—they who were under the curse of Moses and the denunciations of Jehovah —would not be excluded from salvation.

Accordingly, inasmuch as the mention of the Church of Tyre furnishes an essential supplement to the representation of that preliminary stage of the conversion of the Gentiles which was of importance with regard to the whole journey of the Apostle, it is consequently nothing surprising if the account here given of the Apostle's intercourse with this Church should bring forward a matter or two for consideration. With regard to the disciples, it is recorded in the first place that they exhorted St Paul in the spirit that he should not go up to Jerusalem (ver. 4). From this we see that these Tyrian disciples had actually become partakers of the Holy Spirit, and consequently had been received into full communion with Christ (see xix. 1—7). The Spirit had revealed to them that in Jerusalem St Paul would be in

danger of his life (see xx. 23), and upon this declaration they could not restrain themselves from exhorting the Apostle to desist from his purpose. For as it was assured to them through the Spirit that St Paul, through the Jews, would be thrown into prison and brought into danger of death, the principal object of the journey, so far as Jerusalem was concerned, must have appeared to them to be frustrated—so changed as to be likely to bring about the opposite result of what was intended by it; and by such a prospect of its issue they must have thought they could justify their exhortation. That, however, it was the duty of St Paul to labour on with his brethren after the flesh, even under the conviction that his labours would be in vain, and would be followed by very different results to what he wished, was a mystery into which no one but himself could penetrate. As, however, the determination of the Apostle has already been shewn to be unalterable, notwithstanding these voices of the Spirit (see xx. 22—24), St Luke did not consider it necessary expressly to record that this exhortation of the Tyrians was likewise ineffectual. We are told, however, that the whole band of the disciples, with their wives and children, accompanied the Apostle and his fellow-travellers out of the city, and that the whole company knelt down in the open air on the shore and prayed (see ver. 6). This is the first time that, in the notice of a Christian Church, children are mentioned; it is therefore in Tyre that we have the first recorded instance of the total pervading of the family by Christianity. From this fact we ought, there can be no doubt, to infer that, even on this scene of the city of the world's traffic, where in nature all that belonged to human life and to the relations of family life were most deeply corrupted and perverted, the Gospel had struck a firm and deep root. And we surely ought to regard it as a special distinction of the Tyrian Church, that it here appears to have been thought worthy —with all its members, even its very children—to be associated in common public prayer to God with the Apostle of the Gentiles and his companions, who represented the whole heathen world. Now, as we know to what object the prayers of the Apostle were at this time directed, and that he sought to direct the supplications of the different Churches to the same end (see Rom. xv. 30), we may also assume that the prayers of this

Apostolic band beneath the open sky and on the wide sea-shore, were likewise mainly directed to this same object, viz., the journey of the Apostle to Jerusalem, and the end he had in view by visiting it. And we are, moreover, led to assume the same subject for these united prayers by the very narrative, since it intimates very distinctly, that it was to this point that all the thoughts and feelings of those who, on this occasion, were united together were directed.

At Ptolemais, the sea voyage of St Paul and his companions reached its end (ver. 7.) Now, at length has the Apostle, with his consecrated Gentiles, arrived in the land of Israel. The arrival is, however, significant. The spot of their landing, even in this day the best harbour on the coast of Syria, lies, indeed, within the promised land, but was never taken possession of by the Israelites (see Judges i. 31; Winer bibl. Realworterbuch. i. 16), and was, therefore, even in later times, still regarded as unclean (see Othonis Lex Rabb. p. 4, 5; Wetstein ad h. l.) : as, indeed, generally the fact that Israel did not appropriate that dominion over the sea which was held out in prospect to it, pointed out the limit to its development in the Old Testament (see Theolog. Commentar. i. 1, 378; i. 2, 561, 562). Now, in the circumstance that St Paul and his fellow-travellers find in this heathen seaport of the land of Israel a Church of Jesus, with whom they exchange brotherly greeting and fellowship (ver. 7), we have a beginning exhibited of the overpassing of these limits. What Joshua could not attain to, what the Judges could not, what David and Solomon could not attain to, that Jesus the son of David has accomplished; in Acco or Ptolemais Israel now dwells —as yet, indeed, imperceptibly, but still not the less truly (Rom. ii. 28, 29), and St Paul, the accredited Apostle, must fain recognize this Church as Israel.

But why, in the further prosecution of their journey, instead of proceeding through Galilee and the centre of the land, do they go by the coast, touching at a single place only—Cesarea? This, indeed, is a question which commentators have not gone into; although it seems to me to enforce itself on my consideration; and in the choice of this direction, as well as in the tarrying at Cesarea, I cannot but see a design and a conscious purpose. We have already remarked that the deputation from

Antioch to Jerusalem did not stop in Galilee (see xv. 3 cf. vol. ii. p. 13), and, indeed, for this reason, that they could not hope for any concurrence and sympathy in the Churches of the Jewish Christians there. And was there not on the present occasion a similar reason for going round and avoiding Galilee and Judea? The Gentile Christians, who were the companions of St Paul's journey, desire to represent, and to offer both themselves and their gifts to the Church at Jerusalem, as a work wrought by the grace of God in the world of heathendom. Therefore, on the road, they only land at such points as it was likely would enable them to enlarge and to heighten this their peculiar characteristic as the representatives of the heathen world—consequently at those places only in which Gentile Churches were to be found; and on this account Cesarea is very naturally the chief point within the Jewish land to which their view would be pre-eminently directed. In a previous mention of this city (see i. p. 335, 336), we recognized its Gentile and Roman character. And now we learn what, as we have already remarked, is implied in the very context of this narrative, that a Christian Church existed there, with whom our travellers tarried for several days in hearty and brotherly communion (ver. 8—16). Paul, with his company, enters at once into the house of Philip, and here they abode. And this implies the fact, that a perfect understanding subsisted between Philip and the companions of the Apostle. On what then does this assumption rest? The designation of Philip, as Evangelist, and one of the seven, serves to remind us of that which is here in question. The appellation of Evangelist implies that Philip, in accordance with his vocation, was engaged in preaching the Gospel where its sound had never before been heard (see Harless zum Br. and Ephes. S. 369). We know, however, that Philip had received an extraordinary call to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, both in the immediate neighbourhood and the remotest distance (see viii. 4—40). The detailed report of his labours in this vocation followed him as far as Cesarea (see viii. 40), and since, at a later date, it was even here in the Roman-Gentile city of Cesarea that the first fruits of the Gentiles was converted by St Peter; we can easily understand how it is that we find Philip still in the same place, and now indeed settled there.

Judging from the direction assigned to him in both these cases, he rightly looked upon himself as sent pre-eminently to the Gentiles; and in that beginning of the conversion of the Gentiles accomplished by St Peter in Cesarea, he discerned a requisition on himself to carry on that work still further. Ought not the remembrance of his diaconate to suggest to us how it was that he came to assume the work of an Apostle? The remembrance of this fact has sorely puzzled the commentators; a difficulty rather than anything else has been found in it. It has been considered surprising that Philip, who, in Jerusalem, possessed a fixed ecclesiastical office, of which we are here reminded, should have been settled in Cesarea. But when we simply follow the narrative which our history gives us, the matter becomes easy of explanation. When the persecution which followed the martyrdom of Stephen in Jerusalem had broken out, it was destined to be overcome by being made to serve as an occasion for the further diffusion of the Gospel. Now, this diffusion was operated partly by means of official personages, and partly by unofficial agency; and in this way there was manifested as well the might of the Spirit working unconditionally, and also the importance of an ordinance appointed by the Spirit. But now, since the epoch at which the Apostles were constrained to quit Jerusalem had not yet arrived, the diaconate must furnish the official agency; and accordingly we see the Deacon, who, in the list of names, stood next to the Martyr Stephen, located in the spot which was the scene of the diffusion of the Gospel among the Gentiles. Now, it is in reference to these events that Philip is here called one of the Seven; in order to intimate that, from the very beginning, he was qualified to take up the work of the conversion of the heathen in Cesarea, and to carry it on whenever St Peter should be compelled, by his Apostolical connection with Jerusalem and Judea, to abandon it. As therefore the designation of Philip, by the title of Deacon, is by no means unconnected with the context, we cannot regard, (as Meyer and de Wette do) the allusion to the daughters of Philip (ver. 9), as a merely occasional notice, but as one appropriately introduced into the course of our narrative. For by the circumstance that Philip had left Jerusalem to settle in Cesarea, where he had a house and family, he must be looked upon as regu-

larly incorporated into the Church of Cesarea, which must be set down as a Gentile community, and his family also as standing on the domain of a community of Gentiles. And moreover the gift of prophecy to his four maiden daughters is to be looked upon as a special sign of grace, with which the Holy Spirit had honoured this Church in the "unclean" Cesarea. For the prophesying not merely of sons but also of daughters is expressly mentioned in the promise of Joel, as one of the miraculous signs of the outpouring of the Holy Ghost upon Israel (see Joel iii. 1; Acts ii. 17). That, moreover, the state of virginity is here emphatically mentioned, and is set forth as one peculiarly appropriate to the prophetical character of the daughters of Philip, must never be denied from any view to the Roman controversy. The virgin state of these daughters of Zion, so extraordinarily illuminated by the Holy Ghost, and moved to awakening and edifying speech, corresponds to the present state of the daughter of Zion, who, as bearing the glad tidings of Jehovah, raises her voice indeed (see Isa. xl. 3), but looks forward to the future for her betrothment (see Hos. ii. 18). If then in this respect these four virgins who prophesy in the house of Philip the Evangelist, which evidently formed the centre of the Gentile Christian community in Cesarea, unmistakeably constituted its chief ornament, this account is raised above all suspicion, and especially must the boldly hazarded conjecture of Gieseler, that viz. the ninth verse is an interpolation (see Studien u. Krit. 1829. Bg. 140), be regarded as utterly untenable.

But it is, moreover, by the arrival and prophecy of Agabus (against which even Zeller—see Theolog. Jahrb. 1849, 555, has found nothing to object), that the true relation of the Apostle and his companions to the Church at Cesarea first became manifest. Even before this has Agabus been introduced to us as a prophet (see vol. i. 301, 302). On that occasion he came from Jerusalem. On the present he comes out of Judea—consequently, from the immediate vicinity, where in all probability he may have heard of the arrival of the Apostle at Cesarea, and also of his intended visit to Jerusalem. This very knowledge in all probability brought him to Cesarea. Even on the former occasion, when mention was made of him, it was as predicting the approaching signs of the impending judgment that he came forward, and his

prediction had a salutary effect both in Antioch and upon Jerusalem. His prophecy on the present occasion, too, moves also within the same domain ; for if the Jews, as he here predicts (ver. 11), should betray St Paul into the hands of the Gentiles, this implies that they will also harden themselves against the new revelation of the grace of God ; and, moreover, very distinctly reminds us of the malice of the Jews against Jesus. Of such a fulness of the measure of iniquity, however, the necessary consequence is the judgment of God. The remark of Grotius is certainly just, that the way in which Agabus appears on the scene distinctly reminds us of the previous prophets of the Old Testament. For it is based on the intimate connection which, relatively to the whole personality of the prophets, subsisted between the prophets and the subject-matter of their prophesies, that not only did they most vividly describe the coming events with their words, but that they also palpably signified it by their deeds (cf. Isa. xx. ; Jer. xiii. ; Ezek. iv. ; Isa. viii. 18). By a solemn and palpable representation of this kind, the danger of St Paul in Jerusalem is brought before our minds so distinctly and so vividly as it never before had been ; and, besides this, it must be added : Agabus expressly declares that St Paul should really be delivered by the Jews into the hands of the Gentiles. This trait must involuntarily remind us of the end of our Lord (see Matt. xvii. 22 ; xxvi. 45 ; Mark ix. 31 ; xiv. 41 ; Luke ix. 44 ; xxiv. 7 ; John ix. 11).

The expressive form which the prophecy took, and this menacing accompaniment, must have produced a powerful effect on all present, and St Luke has not omitted to describe it to us at length (vv. 12, 13). Hitherto it was only of those who were afar off that we were told, how, on the grounds of this fearful prospect of mortal peril to the Apostle, they had sought to dissuade him from undertaking this journey (ver. 4). In Cesarea, only those who were settled in that city sought to move the Apostle with their tears and supplications ; but in the present attempt it is evident that they especially were meant who formed St Paul's immediate company, and who consequently had been fully initiated into the object which the Apostle wished to accomplish by this grand journey to Jerusalem. And among them, therefore, there must have been our historian himself, who, above all others, was capable of taking a comprehensive survey of the general development of the

Church, and consequently also of understanding the immediate crisis. Accordingly we see that all present were most powerfully affected by the danger in which the Apostle of the Gentiles was involved, and that every one of the Christians of Cesarea, including Philip the Evangelist and Deacon, the representatives of the Gentile Churches, including also Luke and Timotheus, are moved by their anxiety to try, by every means in their power, to induce St Paul to alter the resolution which he had already so solemnly announced to them. The more we realize to our minds the great influence we must ascribe to such a body of holy and enlightened men who were now seeking to prevail upon the Apostle, the higher must be our admiration of the personal character of St Paul, who allowed not himself to be in the least driven from his purpose by such a storm of love and of the Spirit. We must bear in mind how unutterably oppressive the journey to Jerusalem which the Apostle had entered upon must have been to his mind, even when he was left alone to quiet contemplation and to his own thoughts and feelings; how much more oppressive must it have appeared, when all whom he held dearest and most valued stood in his way to stop him with earnest supplications and tears! Naturally they would not omit to urge upon St Paul not only that it would be an unavailing sacrifice if he should expose himself to the malice of the Jews, but that by so doing he would be the means of increasing their iniquity; and that even on that ground of consideration for his countrymen, he ought to desist from his purpose, especially as he had not received any call from the Lord to Jerusalem, and, indeed, it was his duty to save and preserve himself for Rome. But St Paul remains as immoveable as a rock. He knew that it was desirable that this exhibition of the Gentile Church should be made in Jerusalem, in order to effect a closer union of the Gentile Church with that of the Jews which, in Jerusalem, had its holy and richly blessed stock; that it was incumbent that a final manifestation of grace should be made to the hardened people of Israel. And on this great work, he was conscious of having been deemed worthy and chosen to be the instrument. By this thought it was made irrevocably clear to his mind, that the prospect of personal danger to himself ought so much the less to

effect the least change in his determination and proceedings, as personal sufferings had from the very first been set before him by the Lord Himself as a part of his vocation (see ix. 16). With unwavering constancy therefore St Paul rejected as out of place the importunate entreaties of his friends, and avows once more (ver. 13), his fixed purpose to part with life if necessary for the name of the Lord Jesus. If, then, we are told that the friends of the Apostle thereupon quietly desisted, saying, "The will of the Lord be done" (ver. 14); we see from this, that on the one hand, they stood still in silent astonishment in the presence of such resolution on the Apostle's part, and, on the other hand, while they committed the matter into the hands of the Lord, they no doubt felt themselves the more strongly urged to earnest intercession in his behalf.

It must in fact fill us with fresh astonishment to see St Paul in the midst of this most faithful and enlightened band of the Apostolical Church, nevertheless, on the whole, little appreciated in the peculiar mystery of his inmost being, ill-understood, and left to himself and to his own resources. The incomparable sublimity and majesty of the Apostle's position at this moment will perhaps be brought still more distinctly home to our minds if we call to remembrance certain similar moments in the life of Luther; in which he too, abandoned and totally misunderstood by his most familiar friends, was left alone with his conscience and his God, to venture in the strength of his own lofty courage on a bold step, while his friends look on astonished and view his bold proceedings with doubt and scruple. By such critical moments how strikingly was it shown that the work of the Reformation, so far as its principal agent is concerned, cannot be explained by any favourable combination of the circumstances of the time, but pre-eminently and so far as its leading movement is concerned, by that creation which the grace of Jesus Christ working by the law of His almighty power and wisdom produced in the soul of one man. So in the important crisis of the moment which is here recorded for us by the Apostolic history, it is clearly demonstrated that the great work of the conversion of the Gentiles, whose perfection and accomplishment is here in question, must be considered to have had its foundation laid not so much in the Apostolic Church as such—no, nor in any distinguished and highly gifted

personages, but pre-eminently and mainly in the Divine mystery of the conversion and call of Saul of Tarsus. It requires surely only to be suggested that by the position and exclusive prominence thus assigned to the Apostle Paul, that universal importance which St Luke, in the third portion of his history, ascribes to his narrative of the doings and sufferings of St Paul, acquires a further justification. The less capable St Luke was in Cesarea of understanding the unalterable resolution of the Apostle, the more brightly must the certainty and transparency of the Divine counsels and work in the proceedings of St Paul have dawned upon him when at last, together with St Paul, he had reached in Rome the lofty and sacred object of this resolution.

We must yet again cast our glance back upon the sacred band which, in Cesarea, surrounded the Apostle. If at last they quieted themselves with the words, "The will of the Lord be done," we surely know too well the temper of the Apostolic Church, which we have seen actuated by the profoundest love and tenderness, to imagine for one moment that, by these words, they, in a fatalistic sense, cooled their zeal, or relapsed into insensibility. On the contrary, this incident forces us rather to assume that both portions of this assembly would henceforth turn their looks, agitated by love, prayer and weeping, which they had in vain directed towards the Apostle, unto the Lord Himself, in whose hands they were fully conscious was placed the final decision concerning the Apostle of the Gentiles, to whom their very souls clung. And in truth, after the revelation of the Spirit by the word and deed of Agabus, their prayers would take a very definite direction. They had learned that St Paul would be delivered by the Jews into the hands of the Gentiles. To what other object then could the prayers of these saints and believers, chosen out of the midst of them, be directed, than that the Gentiles in Jerusalem, their brethren after the flesh, might not stain themselves with the blood of the Holy Apostle, so wonderfully prepared, and so richly endowed for the very conversion of the Gentiles, as formerly the Gentiles in Jerusalem had sinfully polluted themselves with the innocent blood of the Lamb of God? Thus this interceding Church, which in Cesarea, (the last station of the Gentile Church in which St Paul tarried on his way to Jerusalem), had seen the Apostle Paul at the

height of his greatness, and partly had accompanied him to Jerusalem, and had enjoyed his personal intercourse and sympathy, becomes the interpreter and spokesman of all the sighs and prayers which in every congregation arose unto the throne of God from the depth of the heart, for the preservation of the Apostle.

That some members of the Church at Cesarea should have accompanied the Apostle and his fellow-travellers to Jerusalem (ver. 16), is not to be wondered at, when we consider the great interest which this journey had excited, and the comparative proximity of the Holy City. On the contrary, our surprise must be awakened rather by the circumstance that these people of Cesarea should have made it their principal object in accompanying the Apostle to Jerusalem to provide him with a suitable lodging. "They brought with them," we are told, "one Mnason, an old disciple with whom we should lodge" (ver. 16). How comes it that here in Jerusalem alone (where assuredly there was a large and numerous body of Christians), such special provision was made for their lodging, though we meet with nothing of the kind in other places with comparatively smaller communities, and where the travellers tarried for several days together? Wherefore did they not address themselves directly to the president of the Church as they probably did in Cesarea to Philip, and in whose house they tarried during the whole of their stay in that city? And lastly, why was one chosen for their host who otherwise is altogether unknown to us? All these questions force themselves on us the more that we see that it is only on the day after his arrival, when the brethren had already received them gladly (ver. 17), that the Apostle went in unto James and found the elders assembled with him (ver. 18). Now, when we put all this together, we cannot but suppose it was the purpose of St Paul and his companions not at once and without explanation to address themselves to St James and the elders in Jerusalem. And this fact enables us to gain a deep insight into the relations and the significance of the present crisis.

Since St Paul with his companions proceed unto James and the elders, and lay before them in detail all that God had done among the Gentiles (ver. 19); we can with confidence assume that at this moment no one of the Apostles was residing in Jerusalem. For otherwise there cannot be a doubt that St Paul would, in the

first place, have addressed himself to them. Since then we find St James and the elders in the place of the Apostles, we are reminded of chap. xii. 17, and the present passage receives from it its best illustration, as also on the other hand the former explains the latter, and also confirms our explanation of that place (see vol. i. p. 321—327). According to that passage the consummation of hatred to the Gospel which was exhibited in Herod's persecution of James the son of Zebedee and St Peter was interpreted by St Peter and the rest of the Apostles as a signal for them to leave Jerusalem; and we may assume that they never again made it, as it had previously been, their place of permanent abode. But on the other hand, inasmuch as the path unto the ends of the world was to be beaten, not by the twelve Apostles, but by the thirteenth, and their province was merely to follow the latter along the road already opened; consequently no steady and extensive field of exertion would be immediately opened for the Apostles out of Jerusalem. We need not therefore wonder if, on a special occasion, we again find them collected together in Jerusalem (see Gal. ii. 9; Acts of the Apostles xv. 4; vi. 7). However, by the meeting of the Apostles in Jerusalem, the diffusion of the Gospel among the Gentiles was ecclesiastically regulated. When, therefore, upon this ordinance of the Church, St Paul visited again the arena of the conversion of the Gentiles, seeking this time indeed the regions where lay the chief centres of the political relations of the world, naturally the Apostles would not only look upon their labours in Jerusalem as terminated, but also would make up their minds to follow that track of development which led away from Jerusalem unto the lands of the heathen. We have already remarked that at this period we met with St Peter in Antioch, the great city of the Gentile world (see Gal. ii. 2—11). And with this negative fact the positive one that the passage xii. 17 points to perfectly corresponds. We there found that St Peter and the rest of the Apostles committed the care of the Church to James the brother of the Lord. And this was the state of matters that we traced in the narrative of the transactions in Jerusalem concerning the converted Gentiles. For there St James, as the president of the assembly, delivers the speech which influences the decision of the Synod and decides the matter. And it is also in agreement therewith that at this same

period, James, together with St Peter and St John, and even in precedence of them, is spoken of as a pillar of the Church (see Gal. ii. 9). And lastly, the further circumstance comes in for consideration, that while St Peter was in Antioch certain persons from St James came down thither who exercised a Judaising influence (see Gal. ii. 12). Where else could this James have been at this time but in Jerusalem, from whence the first Judaisers came to Antioch? (see Acts xv. 1—24).

The fact, therefore, that the Apostles were not in Jerusalem, but that St James was at the head of the Church there, is a remarkable sign of the times; and especially a sign relatively to the state of Israel. The very circumstance that all the Apostles have left Jerusalem, the centre of the kingdom of Israel, the temple of Jehovah, with which all the holy worship of Israel was connected, practically involved the universal Apostolical testimony that the Church of God was to develop itself and to take its shape without any assistance from Israel. As nevertheless the Apostles, wherever on earth they may be labouring, are still, and ever will be, the patriarchs of the new Israel, this is further attested and confirmed by this great testimony of the Apostle, that the new and true Israel is first of all to have a perfectly hidden form, inasmuch as it is not able to appear in the shape prepared for it by God by signs and by wonders, but has to consecrate to itself the elements of the world, in order that, so far as the kingdoms of the world permit, it might build itself out of these a temporary tabernacle. This profound invisibility of the new Israel is not merely a consequence of the obduracy of the old Israel, but also a testimony of God against it. For simply by reason of the old Israel turning its sacred ordinances and Divine promises into carnal objects, and because the holiest and divinest wisdom that ever had been revealed on earth in a visible and external shape had, by the will of the flesh, been transmuted into a perpetual occasion and source of rebellion against God's holy Spirit and will, therefore that body which was well-pleasing to God must have an existence, not merely on the basis of the Spirit, but also in the manner of the Spirit, and in opposition to all that is external and visible; and, that too, as long as this all-hostile flesh is not yet conquered and subdued by this power of the Spirit thus introduced into the

world, that is, until that principle of the flesh which individually is broken in every believer, shall appear also to be annihilated universally in the world in order to be glorified universally in the world.

It is, however, easily conceivable that, when the Apostles had recognized the necessity of giving this testimony, they would not leave the Church at Jerusalem until they had committed it into trustworthy hands. This Church was, and ever will be, the first fruits of the people of Israel—nay, of the whole human race. In the midst of it there were many who had been baptized by their personal intercourse with the earthly life of Jesus Christ—many who, with tongues on fire with the Spirit, had praised the great deeds of God in all the languages of the world; this Church had also exhibited the essence of brotherly love and fellowship in so pure and original a form as no other will ever be able to do; this Church had lived in the most blessed days of Christian fellowship on earth, it had by prayer and good works victoriously withstood the first and most violent assaults of the adversary; she is for ever the mother of all on earth who, to the end of days, meet together in the name of Jesus. It is true that in the course of time much was changed in this community. It more than every other held a most dangerous position. For in the capital and central seat of Israel, it had to endure unceasing persecution at the hands of the rulers, and also of the populace of the Jews; and to experience what constantly became more and more apparent, the general apostacy of the whole people. On this account, as we learn from the Epistle to the Hebrews, many from the midst of her became at last weak and fell away; but, on the other hand, we also know that the Church kept together up to the time when God gave the Holy City with its temple over to justice (Eusb. H.E. iii. 5). Consequently, even in the time of her incipient weakness, this Church in Jerusalem ever remained the most important of all in the whole earth. He to whom the Apostles consigned the care of this Church was even James the brother of the Lord; and him we now see at the head of it. It is of importance for the right understanding of this moment of the development of the Church that we should possess a clear and distinct view of the character of St James. The more surprising the present shape of things is to us, the less disposed are

we to refer for this purpose to that which is but imperfectly attested; and we shall, therefore, keep close to that which alone is unquestionable—namely, the authentically transmitted statements of St James himself. We propose to complete the results which we gathered from the account of St James' appearance in the Synod of Jerusalem by an examination of the Epistle written by his own hand.

From the discussion in the Synod of Jerusalem, we have seen that St James recognized perfectly unconditionally the work of God among the Gentiles. He acknowledged and saluted as brethren the believers even in uncircumcision; and he also strengthened and confirmed them in this their liberty and independence. But at the same time he was thoroughly pervaded with a conviction that it was the abiding and permanent destiny of Israel under every shape of the Divine communion to furnish and to establish the only legitimate standard, and which was not to be found in the Gentile world. What, therefore, he appended to his free acknowledgment of the independence of the Gentile brethren was the necessity of recognizing this Divine destination of the children of Israel on the part of the converts from among the heathen. We recognized in this decision the voice (which should sound through all times of the Gentile Church) of a man whom, in a critical hour, the Holy Ghost had placed on the height of Sion, and had called for the purpose of preaching to the Gentiles the instruction of God—the fundamental rule for the right shapening of the Divine life, which had been created in the midst of them. In the Epistle of this same James, we see the pendant to that speech and decree of the Synod of Jerusalem. In this Epistle, he is no longer giving speech and answer to the Gentiles, who had come to Jerusalem to seek information as to the way of the Lord; but he is directing his looks "to the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad" (ver. 1). This address is so simple and distinct that its original meaning, even though it is decidedly inconsistent with the general view and bearing of a New Testament scripture, invariably maintains its claim to consideration. For the simple words of this address describe the condition of the collective body of the people of Israel, which began with the Assyrian captivity, and will continue up to the final gathering together, and restoration

of the dispersion of Israel (*Διασπορά* in the LXX. see Deut. xxviii. 25). Consequently, they designate the whole people in that state which has continued down to the present day. Accordingly, it speaks not only to those who had hardened their hearts against the faith in Jesus, but also to those who saw in this faith their true and real life, and valued it above everything. In accordance with this, the simplest and most obvious meaning of the words, have older commentators and critics, as Lardner, for instance, and Wolf and others, understood the superscription; and although de Wette (see Einleitung ii. 370) has pronounced this interpretation to be "a perfect absurdity," Credner nevertheless has not allowed himself to be deterred from giving due honour to the simple "sensus literalis" (see his Einleitung in das N. T. 1, 2, 595). The absurdity, however, may have been in the prevalent opinions on the subject, and not in the actual state of the matter. That very generally people have adopted opinions with regard to the relation between Judaism and Christianity, and between Christianity and Heathenism, which have no foundation in the truth of the Spirit and in Holy Writ, we have already had occasion to remark (see vol. i. 176, 177; 440—443). Must we not say that the prejudice of such opinions has been busy here also, and instead of acknowledging that the plain words of Holy Writ furnished a clear refutation of its views, has it not in a truly carnal way preferred, by evasions and artifices of all kinds, at any cost to maintain its own views against the word of God? For why should it be deemed absolutely impossible that a servant of Jesus Christ should in one and the same Epistle address himself to those who believed, and to those who did not believe in Jesus? Did not the Lord himself, in His sermon on the Mount, in one and the same discourse, address Himself to His disciples, who formed the immediate circle around Him, and also to the whole people? Did not St Peter also in one and the same address comprise both the wondering and astonished spectators, and also those who were frivolous and mocked? Did not St Paul himself, notwithstanding his conviction of the obduracy of Israel, direct himself perpetually to the Jews? does he not in Jerusalem, on the present occasion of his visit there, when they are on the point of rejecting the last demonstration of grace, address all the Jews, and attempt to convince them? (see xxiii. 1—21). Offence,

however, has been taken not only at the circumstance of St James having written to all the Jews, but even at the mode and manner in which the Epistle speaks of faith among them (see De Wette ibid.). However, the ordinary arbitrary supposition that St James addressed none but believing Jews, or, indeed, Christians generally, is not itself exempt from great difficulties arising from the shape of the letter; and in our case a fair solution of these difficulties will not prove impossible. It will not be a very hard task to contribute something towards the reconciliation of St James and St Paul in regard to the doctrine of justification, and to pronounce overhasty the rejection by Luther of this Epistle. But the very error of such a man as Luther, who in this matter proceeded so deliberately and so resolutely (for he never afterwards retracted that opinion, see Commentar. zur. Gen. xxii. 1), must be regarded as an event in Church history, which is not to be got over so very easily. Moreover, Luther would not have been satisfied by any forced reconciliation with the Pauline doctrine, of the views advanced in this Catholic Epistle, relatively to faith and works; for Luther takes offence likewise at this fact, that "this Epistle pretends to teach Christians, and yet never once in all its long exposition alludes to the Passion, the Resurrection, or the Spirit of Christ. He does sometimes name Christ; but he teaches us nothing about Him, and insists only on faith in God. This James does nothing more than urge men to fulfil the law, and the works of the law; and without any method confuses the one with the other. He calls the law a law of liberty (see James i. 25), whereas St Paul calls it a law of bondage, of wrath, of death, of sin" (see Luther's Vorrede auf die Epistel S. Jakob und Judä).

What then? if taking the address in its simple sense we go seriously to work to explain this Epistle, shall we not succeed in solving satisfactorily the whole of these difficulties, and especially the latter one, which is usually overlooked? Naturally we cannot, in the present place, do more than allude to the principal points, because all that we have to do is to bring home to our minds the position taken by St James as it is to be gathered from his own Epistle, in the hope of being able to estimate duly the significance of that meeting which is here recorded between St James and St Paul. If an Israelite believes in Jesus as the Saviour of the

world, and in this faith wishes still to retain his relation to the general body of his people, there are but two positions relatively to them that he can occupy: He can make known and preach to his brethren after the flesh the salvation which has been manifested in Jesus; and if they show themselves unwilling to accept his preaching, then, by reason of his own faith, the bond of brotherhood will be broken externally, and there will remain nothing for him but the hope of the future conversion of Israel to his Lord and Christ. And this is the position of St Paul and St Peter, and, indeed, of the Apostles generally. For, as the messengers of Christ, they were called to lay the foundation of God's kingdom in the world, at first, no doubt, by means of the organization of Israel; but when that had proved itself to be carnal—then without it and in spite of it in the world of the Gentiles—St Paul leading the way and the others following in his track even unto the ends of the earth. And they, while they turned away from the unbelieving Israelites, prepared in the world a kingdom of God in a spiritnal form, which was one day to have for its vocation the bringing back the people of Israel into the communion with their Lord and their God. And precisely by their turning away from Israel and giving the Jews over to their own unbelief and malice, did they gain space and power to realize in their measure the only means that remained for the recovery of their lost people—viz., the founding of a Church of the Gentiles. While, then, St Paul and the other Apostles labour afar off from Jerusalem among and with the Gentiles, they are in their heart so far from abandoning their people that (as we can authentically prove in the case of St Paul, who laboured most energetically among the Gentiles, and of St John, who, least of all, entered into the feelings of Heathendom), the final object of all their thoughts was centred in the future prospects of Israel. If, then, the Apostles who were called to labour among the Gentiles were, by reason of their very vocation, unable to maintain the bond of fellowship with their countrymen otherwise than in their hearts, was it not to be permitted to one, (who had not received this call but whose very vocation rather was to remain in Israel), to preserve this tie externally also?

Jesus had undoubtedly become a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence to both houses of Israel; but not, however, so that Israel,

because it had rejected Christ, had therefore necessarily renounced its Messiah. Or are we to regard as nought this outward adherence to the letter of the law and the prophets; this looking in hope to the promised future of their people? On this point I think we must allow the judgment of St Paul to determine our own. Now, St Paul, who had experienced and felt the malice of his countrymen in his own body, as well as in his deepest heart, in a way that none other ever did or will, nevertheless acknowledged that they had a zeal towards God (see Rom. x. 2). And he admits this favourable trait in their character at the very moment when he was doomed to suffer from their deadly hatred which had its source in this zeal (see Acts xxii. 3). And with all this St Paul had no scruple in characterizing by the name of faith the internal feeling of the Jews relatively to the writings of the prophets (see Acts xxvi. 27)—nay, of the whole twelve tribes he says that they had a hope of the resurrection of the dead, and served God day and night (see Acts xxiv. 27, xxvi. 7). And although St Paul very well knows that the works of the law are dead, he omits not to bear testimony to Israel that it followed after the law of righteousness (see Rom. ix. 31). St Paul consequently was very far from placing the internal and external condition of the Jews as a body on a par with that of the Gentiles. Now is it not possible to rest upon this pre-eminence conceded to the Jews, even by St Paul himself, and by means of it to maintain the external bond of fellowship with them? Even St Paul refuses to regard the Jews simply as unbelievers; and when we examine into the matter more closely we find that their disbelief in Jesus had its occasion and support in their faith in the Messiah, and this their faith in the Messiah has not only its foundation in the Old Testament, but also its full "sight" in the close of the history of the New Testament. Now, when it had been shown that the Jews would not receive the testimony of the Spirit to Jesus of Nazareth the Crucified; because this Saviour and Messiah did not fully correspond to the image which the prophets had sketched, there still existed the possibility for a Jew who believed in Jesus to look away from this testimony, and with Israel to look forward to the Lord of Glory, (see James ii. 1), and onwards to that end which the Lord will bring on for his people as He did with suffering Job,

by turning away his captivity, (see James v. 11; Job xlii. 10). This is the second position, relatively to his countrymen, that it was possible for an Israelite to take who believed in Jesus. St James, indeed, was fundamentally distinguished from his unbelieving brethren, only in this respect that he had faith in Jesus the Just one, who had been condemned and killed and yet resisted not (see James v. 6), and that, accordingly, he looked for no other as the Lord of Glory, than the rejected one and the pierced; whereas they waited for some unknown and unnamed one in the times of glory. If this difference were passed over or neglected, then there would certainly be matter for grave scruple; but we must not overlook the fact that there were yet other ways in which it might be manifested than by bearing testimony to the Jews of the life and sufferings of Jesus. For, indeed, St Peter too speaks of a mode of winning to the faith which is effected without words (see 1 Peter iii. 1, 2).

And, in truth, the actual prominence of the difference between the faith in Jesus and the absence of it, forms the very soul of the Epistle. If, on account of the firm adherence of the Jews to the Divine word of the law and of prophecy, St James looks upon and designates their mental condition as faith, in that case he must either most unbiblically have lowered the notion of faith, or he must have perceived the necessity of his pointing out pre-eminently the intrinsic contradiction between such a state of faith and the essence of faith. But that St James was very far indeed from wishing to lower or weaken the notion of faith, will be admitted by every one who has but cast a glance at his declarations, no less profound than acute, on the nature and mode of faith, which are to be found in the following passages, i. 3, 6, 7, 8; v. 15, 16, 17, 18. Consequently, the only course that remained was to point out the contradiction between such a state of faith as that which was to be found in the body of the people Israel and the true essence of faith itself. And is not this demonstration obvious throughout the whole Epistle, and especially in those very passages which have caused the greatest offence, but which admit, on this supposition, of very easy explanation? St James insists on the necessity of faith exhibiting itself, and, indeed, not so or so, but in the reality of works. Is this attestation one chosen arbitrarily or fondly? By no means. It is, on the con-

trary, one perfectly consonant with the whole tenour of the Epistle. The Old Testament was occupied altogether with the external, the visible, and the sensible; it was even therein that lay its weakness, but at the same time also its strength. In this position of things, righteousness subsists there only where it has taken the shape of definite works and deeds; and salvation has there only appeared where it has come forward in a sensible demonstration. It is on this position that Israel stands when it refuses to recognize its Saviour in Jesus of Nazareth, because He did not make His salvation a visible one; because it believes in the full reality of redemption, it refuses to believe in the spiritual foundation of the redemption of Christ Jesus. It is upon this that St James enters; he calls the hinderance to faith itself a faith; and he attempts to make his readers conscious of this intrinsic inconsistency, by transferring the Old Testament mode of view from the domain of redemption to that of justification. Dost thou, O Jew, long for the salvation of external glory and splendour, and callest thou that thy faith? Then I require of thee the demonstration of thy faith in the form of thy works—that is, in the same sphere of outwardness. That now these must not be works of an arbitrary nature, nor wanting in the inner soul, but must be conformable to the law of God, in which the injunction of love sways the kingly sceptre, (see James ii. 8), is a simple natural inference. When now this standard is applied to the condition of his readers, the result will shew no justification, no righteousness; as indeed in the whole Epistle we find no praise or commendation of his readers, but, on the contrary, the keenest reproof; and, truly, in this respect the present Epistle distinctly and markedly differs from all other Epistles of the New Testament. From this, however, the further inference is that this faith is no faith; this St James might have expressly declared; he is anxious, however, not to abandon the position he has taken, and for this reason he employs another phrase which, fundamentally, is still stronger, and, in fact, still more significant. Three times does he say, "This faith is dead" (ii. 17, 20, 26). No one knows better than St James himself that the affirmation, "This faith is dead," is a very startling one; for in his view, faith in itself is not merely a living energy, but the true, real, divine, and all-powerful energy of life. On this account

he does not require that some other quality should accrue to this faith from without; on the contrary, faith is the efficient power which helps to works (James ii. 26), and even faith itself receives its perfection from works (see ii. 22). And it is precisely because St James does enter into the view which had been taken by the Jews that he is able to convict their whole position of the most monstrous inconsistency.

But on the domain of faith little or nothing, it must be confessed, is accomplished by a conviction, even the most forcible, alone by itself; the Divine saving power must at the same time be brought near to a man to enable him to draw himself out of the mazes of inconsistency. The Epistle of St James did not in this respect abandon the twelve tribes to their difficulties. Hug in his characteristic sketch of this Epistle is perfectly right when he says, "The Epistle is the delineation of an individual; it expresses a tone of mind and a mode of thinking; it is no imaginary sketch, but the picture of a human mind with all the distinctness of lineaments which forces the reader to refer it to an actually existing person. The character that is contained in it is an historical one" (see Einleitung in das N. T. ii. 481). But now the character which is suggested to us by the Epistle throughout, may be most accurately described by the very name which has been given to James—that, viz., of the Just (see Euseb. H. E. ii. 1). The man who could with such calmness and clearness, with such certainty, freedom, and mildness, lay bare and expose the sinfulness of his people and nation in all its breadth and depth, must have attained to a character which was rooted and grounded in righteousness. For this whole Epistle is not some outpouring of prophecy, nor the creation of a momentary inspiration; but in all its traits we discern the background of a formed and decided character, which had overcome all the conflicting difficulties which are here described and attacked. The Jew who should permit himself to be led by this Epistle,—who should attain to a sense of the contradiction between his faith and his practice, must stand in silence before this sketch of the Holy One, and ask: Whence, then, has St James his righteousness? Then will it dawn upon his mind that James was a confessor and a servant of Jesus Christ (see i. 1); that he was not ashamed of the unjust sufferings and death of that Just One;

he would learn that the difference between him and James lay in the faith in Jesus; and then would the truth open on his mind that the faith in Christ must have had its ground in the faith in Jesus; and that consequently, if he is to strike firm root in this ground, he must through his own vital energy go on unto perfection, and the faith in the Messiah must find its verification in the faith in Jesus, in order to make him capable of the reality of justification.

We know not to how many of the Jews this practical testimony to Jesus was productive of faith. The immediate effect of the Epistle cannot have been very great, for the twelve tribes have not even preserved the Epistle addressed to them. But ought this thought to be enough to make us waver again in our conclusion? If so, we must also be at a loss with regard to the use of the Old Testament, for how very little on the whole have these holy books profited the Jewish people? How much has remained perfectly unintelligible or misunderstood by the Jews! In fact, the case stands with respect to the Old Testament Scriptures just as it does with the Epistle of St James. These Scriptures, as they all proceeded without exception from the midst of the twelve tribes, so they were all alike addressed to them and intended for them. Nevertheless, the Gentile Church has become the proper keeper and dispenser of this sacred treasure, and it is she that will one day open the understanding of them to the people who now sit with veiled faces before the letter (see 2 Cor. iii. 14). The Epistle of St James, which likewise has passed over to the Gentile Church, inasmuch as it came from a member of the Church of Christ, sets forth most explicitly the way in which the Church of the Gentiles is called to lead the obdurate people of Israel unto the faith of Jesus, and consequently also to a right understanding of the Holy Scriptures. From St Paul the Gentiles had learned that since the testimony of the Gospel had been begun in Jerusalem, and having gone through all the world, had come back to Israel from all sides, Israel had hardened himself and was placed and included in unbelief. Now, how was it likely that the Gentile Church should come to entertain the wish to win over Israel to the faith by preaching to them Jesus of Nazareth? Who has the courage to undertake the work which St Paul and St Peter were forced to lay down? To look

with indifference on the unbelief of Israel is likewise unbeseeming the Church of the Gentiles, as having received its salvation from Israel. What, therefore, it has to do with regard to Israel has been intimated to her in the Epistle of St James to the Twelve Tribes scattered abroad. As St James manifested the reality and the liveliness of his faith in the Messiah by his personal holiness, and thereby impressed on the Jews the necessity of seeking and experiencing the reality of faith in the faith in Jesus, so by maintaining the house of God in its true shape and form, the Church of the Gentiles must shew that the living God, having left the house of Israel desolate, dwells in it in order that the twelve tribes scattered abroad might by such a practical demonstration of the reality of the house of God in the world, be driven to inquire into the source of such reality, and so receive in a new and living form the testimony to Jesus the crucified.

When we fully realize to our mind this image of James the Just, who was chosen to rule the holy Mother Church of Jerusalem, when Israel as a body had hardened themselves and were unbelieving, and when the Apostles had entered upon their work among the Gentiles, we soon observe how immeasurably great was the distance which existed between this president of the Church in Jerusalem and the Apostle of the Gentiles. In fact, by contrasting these two men together, we at once become conscious how diversified and manifold were the characters which the Church of Christ was able, and, indeed, called upon to embrace within its limits. At present, indeed, the multiplicity and diversity within the Church are for the most part marked with an element of antagonism, and so far as that is the case, on one side or the other, or perhaps on both, the flesh, which is the principle of division, must have been active alongside of the Spirit, which is but one, and forms and combines all its manifold gifts into one communion. But even in the manifold phases of impure antagonism which cling to the present aspect of the Church on earth, the original natural variety and diversity may still be recognized. It may perhaps contribute to enable us to realize the extreme extent of these differences which here occur, if we appeal to a somewhat weak analogy in the present state of the Church. In Quakerism on the one hand, and in Roman Catholicism on the other, we recognize not merely two extreme

configurations of the Church, but also on both sides of this contrariety we can trace alongside of the Spirit the corrupting influences of the flesh; and yet, notwithstanding, we can suppose that, even through this impure and corrupting channel, both of tendency and communion, the Holy Ghost still works by means of the word and the sacraments, and regenerates man, and really unites him with God the Father through Jesus the Son. Let us conceive in each of the two quarters above-named, an individual inspired by the Spirit of God, and then these two persons brought into contact with each other; in which case we must merely assume further that these two persons are not merely men of the common mass, but such as have and feel the vocation to set forth and to establish all that is true and Divine in their community. We feel at once that it would be extremely difficult for both of them, in consequence of the great differences which hold them apart, not merely to believe and to feel the force of the unity which still unites them together; but even to allow it to influence them, and to lead them to adopt an actual community of life. And yet this is but a very weak analogy to what is here lying before us. For that which in Quakerism and Romanism is the true and the Divine, is here manifested in an energy which is no less original than deliberate, and no less fundamental than complete. St Paul in mortal conflict had surrendered his old man to the tribunal of the law; he had died to the law, and in this death—the end of the law—he had found a new life—a life of liberty. Now he traverses seas and lands, kingdoms and cities, to preach to the worshippers of idols and to sinners, the name of Jesus, and when they believe in this name, he commends them to Him in whom they believe (see Acts xiv 32), without imposing on them any farther rule or standard than the exhortations with which he enjoined them not to allow themselves to be influenced by any external authority, but to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free (see Gal. v. 1). And it is by this rule that he himself regulates his own conduct, although he is a Jew; nay, he holds it to be his very vocation to exhibit this liberty to the Gentiles and to manifest it in his own life and actions. On this account he thought it incumbent on him no less than four times to advance the

maxim *πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν* (see 1 Cor. vi. 12; x. 23), and when a disposition was shewn to dispute this his liberty, he resisted the attempt without respect of persons (see Gal. ii. 4, 5, 14). In virtue of this liberty all days and seasons are alike to him (see Rom. xiv. 5), there is nothing common to his mind; but every one of God's creatures is clean (see Rom. xiv. 14, 20; Tit. i. 15; 1 Tim. iv. 3), and even things offered to idols are not, merely as such, forbidden as food, inasmuch as the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, and in this tone of mind and tendency he finds, even in the inscriptions of the worshippers of idols and the poetic works of Pantheistic Heathens, gleams and emanations of Divine wisdom. St James, on the other hand, still abides in the same rule and habit of life as he had been brought up and educated in; the law of the fathers is to him the immutable standard of conduct and action; he refuses to hear of any other liberty than that which has taken the shape of this conformity to the law; that alone is to him a true life which has identified itself with the Divine rule for all human actions—the law. On this account he calls the law a law of liberty (see James ii. 12). For this reason too he departs not from the place which Jehovah has chosen for Himself—the site of the revelation of His law (see Isai. ii. 3); and even though the band of the true and righteous Israelites is becoming continually smaller and smaller, and although even all of the Apostles had quitted the blood-polluted city, and although the dark clouds which threatened the immediate outburst of the tempest of Divine fury are gathering thicker and thicker around the Holy Mountain, still St James abandons not his sacred watch; he does but live a holier life and pray the more earnestly. While, therefore, St Paul and all the rest of the Apostles leave Israel to follow his own perverse will, and to go his own evil ways; St James from the Holy Mountain looks to the four winds of heaven, beneath which the tribes of Israel are scattered abroad, and as Zion, the afflicted and lonely widow, the desolate mother of children, cannot forget her lost and erring sons and daughters, and ceases not to call to them and to try to win them back again to exhort and to comfort them (see Isai. xlix. 20, 21, li. 17—21, liv. 1—8; Baruch, chap. iv.), so St James, at that time, as the

spokesman and representative of the sorrowing and afflicted Zion, desists not from pouring forth to the scattered tribes the words of wholesome doctrine and reproof.

In the same way consequently as St Paul, in his character of representative of the Gentile Church, and in accordance with his position and views, connects himself with the Gentiles, so does St James cling to the Jews as representative of the Jewish Church; and when they each reveal their inward sentiments in words of preaching, it gives forth a wholly different expression in each case. If they direct their glance to the Divine aspect of preaching, then the one turns his view to the past history of Jesus, His birth, His death, His resurrection, the mysterious laying of the foundation of the kingdom of God; the other has his eye directed to the future of the Messiah, and he proclaims His glory and the end which He will accomplish for His captive people, the manifestation and the fulfilment of the kingdom of God. Do they look at its human aspect; then the one insists above all else, and even again and again, on the very foundation of all truly Divine life—faith; the other, on the contrary, will not be content until the actual method of the new life is developed and realized. Thus, then, we here find in fact the greatest differences that it is possible to conceive of within the sphere of humanity embraced by these two personages respectively;—viz., the greatest national differences; for such assuredly that between Jew and Gentile must be admitted to be; and the greatest individual differences—that, viz., between the tendency to the inward and that to the outward, between the spiritual and the corporeal. The more conscious, however, that we become of the extreme nature of these diversities which here occur, the more important and significant must that meeting and communion of them appear, which is now about to be brought before us. For wherever else in the sphere of humanity we meet with these extreme cases of human difference, they are invariably bound up with a character of exclusiveness and of hateful antagonism. In this instance alone do these diversities of character come before us in a pure and unalloyed form, and being kept in check by the spirit of fellowship are united by it into a common bond of operation and of life. For alongside of the greatest possible difference both of conduct and preaching there exists a common ground of sympathy—and

that was nothing less than the central point of all that is truly and essentially human—even the faith in Jesus of Nazareth :—a faith which, in the case of St Paul, is obviously displayed in every word and work, while in that of St James it attains only to such a degree of manifestation as is necessary to prevent the denial of its existence; although in him also it existed no less energetically.

Now, then, the arrival of St Paul's company in Jerusalem, and the fact of their taking up their abode in the house of Mnason, becomes perfectly intelligible to us (see Acts xxi. 16). St Paul and St James form the greatest extremes of all manifoldness and diversity that ever could be comprised within the Church of Christ. It would therefore have been a sign of the most inconceivable want of self-consciousness, if in Jerusalem St Paul, with his companions, the representatives of the Gentile Churches, had gone at once and immediately to St James, in the same way that in Cesarea he went to the house of Philip the Evangelist, the converter of the Samaritans, and of the chamberlain from Æthiopia, and formerly the deacon, and the associate of St Stephen (see ver. 8). It is easy to suppose that in Jerusalem St Paul would go cautiously to work, and would not attempt to approach St James, the representative of the Jewish Church, otherwise than gradually. How very natural does it now appear that the people of Cesarea should accompany St Paul and his companions to the Holy City; for all St Paul's previous associations were of a kind calculated to give offence to the brethren, and he had never afterwards held any close intercourse with the faithful in Jerusalem.

And it is only what we should expect, if the men of Cesarea betake themselves to those with whom they were most immediately connected. And these were consequently either converts like themselves from among the Gentiles who had settled in Jerusalem, such for instance as Cornelius; or such believers from the midst of Israel as maintained intimate relations with the Gentile Churches, such as Philip or Jude (see xv. 22), or John Mark. But, as we are told, they actually betook themselves to Mnason, an old disciple from Cyprus. Grotius is disposed to infer from his name a Jewish descent, since he thinks that in Mnason he can recognize יְזַכָּר. But still more infallible is the trace which Wetstein has pointed out of its being a very usual name among

the Greeks. But it is impossible to affirm that this would decidedly establish his Pagan origin, since the Hellenistic Jews especially very frequently adopted Greek names (see Winer bibl. Realwört. ii. 134). As, however, Mnason must have had at his command extensive accommodation to be able to entertain St Paul and all his travelling companions, and must therefore have himself been permanently settled in Jerusalem; the most probable supposition is that he was a Jew, a native of Cyprus who had taken up his residence in Jerusalem for the sake of the greater facilities it afforded him for the performance of religious exercises and worship. And, moreover, as he is spoken of as an old disciple, it is a very obvious course to suppose that he was one of the many who had been moved by the wonders of the day of Pentecost to embrace the faith of Jesus (see vol. i. 58). Probably this fact of Cyprus being his native country brought him into contact with Barnabas, the native of Cyprus, the prophet and teacher of the Church of the Gentile Christians in Antioch, and the companion of St Paul on his first missionary journey, as well also with those men of Cyprus who, being driven out of Jerusalem, were the first who ventured to preach the word to the Greeks (see xi. 20); and in this circumstance we discover a possible trace of a more intimate connection between Mnason and the Gentile Church in Cesarea. If, then, we are told that St Paul and his companions were gladly received by the brethren in Jerusalem (see ver. 17); it is clear that we must understand from this that in the house of Mnason, in which St Paul and his fellow-travellers took up their lodging, there were present such members of the Church at Jerusalem as were more closely connected with the family of the owner—consequently Jewish Christians who maintained a friendly intercourse with their brethren of the Gentiles—or perhaps such Gentile Christians as were settled in Jerusalem. The very nature of the circumstances implies that we must not entertain here a thought of any representation of the whole Church of Jerusalem, and this will presently be shown still more distinctly (see ver. 20). As, however, the expression nevertheless runs in very general terms (*οἱ ἀδελφοί*); this is only intended to remind us, that we must not altogether look upon these brethren, by whom the newly arrived were greeted, as acting merely in their individual capacity—and by this view of

them, as it seems to me, the objection of Baur (see der Apostel Paulus, p. 200), is fully met. When, then, a preliminary meeting had taken place between St Paul and his fellow-travellers on the one hand, and the members of the Church in Jerusalem on the other; a formal and solemn meeting was appointed for the following day. St Paul and his companions proceed to St James, with whom all the elders of the Church were assembled. And here it can only surprise us, that St James had not summoned the members of the Church, as we find was the case when the Synod was held for determining the position of the Gentile Church. This circumstance, however, may well be explained by the fact that St James, who was well aware of the ill-feeling and the prejudice which prevailed among the majority of the members of the Church against St Paul, was apprehensive lest some interruption of the meeting might arise, if he were at once to introduce St Paul to the members of the Church; and since the discussion was only a first and preliminary one, it did not, by any means, prejudice the undoubted right of the lay members of the Assembly. But, however that may be, St Luke has not omitted to draw our attention to the fact, that in those with whom, on the present occasion, St James is surrounded, we are to recognize a full representation of the whole Church at Jerusalem. For St James, who had been appointed president of the Church at Jerusalem, and who is confirmed in that position by all that we know of him, had invited all the elders of the Church to be present. And since, on the other hand (as the whole narrative has been leading us to infer), we evidently have to recognize also in St Paul and his companions a representation of the Gentile Churches which had been founded in Asia and in Europe, this spot and this moment is of immeasurable importance in the course of the Church's development. We here find the two utmost extremes of the Apostolical Church brought together in one spot; and each of them is surrounded by that living sphere which peculiarly belongs to it. Now we know that the object which St Paul and his fellow-travellers had in view was by means of this representation to exhibit the Gentile Church to the Church of the Jews, and to effect by an actual manifestation their fundamental unity and communion in the one Lord and Spirit, the one God and Father in whom they believed

and inwardly placed all their reliance. If this desire of St Paul and his associates should attain to its realization, then by such a fact the unity amidst diversities of every kind which, within the limits of the Church on earth, are ever making their appearance, would be fully assured for all times.

We have, therefore, to look forwards with great expectation to this meeting in the house of James. The principal point which is here in question is carried on in a very simple and intelligible manner. St Paul is the first to commence speaking, and he reports very accurately and circumstantially (*καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον*, ver. 8), all that God had done by his instrumentality among the Gentiles. In order to estimate the importance of what is here narrated as going on in this spot and at this moment; we must, for a short while, keep before our minds all the circumstances that in this passage are laid before us. Naturally St Paul must have connected his narrative with the report which, at an earlier period, had been made by him and Barnabas to the great synod in Jerusalem of all that had been accomplished in Asia Minor (see xv. 12). Since that date all that those commencements in Asia Minor would have led men to anticipate and to surmise, had been fully effected and developed. The independence of the Gentile Churches, thus acknowledged by the Assembly, had been ratified and established on all sides, and had made its way into the world as God's work. Since that, the conversion of the Gentiles had been effected in an incomparably wider extent. To assure ourselves of this fact we have only need to recall the names of Philippi, Thessalonica, Corinth, and Ephesus. Moreover, this work of conversion has penetrated far deeper than ever it did before. Not only individuals, but whole households, had been received into the Church of Christ. We have also seen that in the great focus and centre of Gentile world and character even the populace had evinced a favourable disposition towards the preaching of the Gospel. Furthermore, this work of God stands already so firm and has so sure a foundation in the domain of paganism, hitherto abandoned by God, that it had begun of itself to spread farther on all sides, as we have especially seen in the case of Troas. In the great cities, as has been shewn in the instance of Corinth, it is not only the populace that is favourably disposed towards the Gospel, but

even the supreme Roman authorities vouchsafe their protection to it as Corinth and Ephesus have fully proved. The Jews, lastly, in almost every place have but grown in intenser animosity to the Church of Jesus, and, in some places, have indeed carried it to the highest pitch. And in conclusion, St Paul would not have omitted to point to his companions who were come from all the principal scenes of his labours, as so many living attestations of the wonderful work which God had in purpose among the Gentiles, and also to the gifts and offerings which had been collected from the Gentile Churches around, as practical demonstrations of their brotherly feelings towards the saints in Jerusalem, which they placed at the disposal of St James and the elders. From this circumstantial, oral, exposition, as well as from the immediate personal and practical exhibition of the work wrought by God in the Church of the Gentiles, it must have been brought home to the representatives of the Jewish Church with the clearest certainty, that this conversion of the Gentiles involved nothing less than the truth that primarily the whole Church of Christ was to pass into the Church of the Gentiles, and would develop itself quite freely and independently of all ordinances of Israel. This prospect must have opened upon them both from the ready acceptance and wonderful results which the preaching of Jesus had met with among the Gentiles, and partly from the ever-growing intensity and profundity of the hatred which the Jews evinced towards the Gospel of Jesus. Consequently, these representatives of the Jewish Church must have entertained the apprehension that probably they were the last occupiers of their position; and naturally it must have become the more difficult for them to recognize gladly, and without restraint, St Paul with his work and his associates, the more distinctly the Gentile Church appeared to them in this light of the heir and successor to what was properly their own inheritance. The temptation on such an occasion must have been immediate and strong to wish to maintain, at all costs, their own position—the permanent significance and importance of the Jewish Church—by an appeal to the Law and the Prophets, and thereby to close their hearts against the work of God which St Paul laid before them; and, after the

Judaistic fashion, to regard with suspicion St Paul and his Gentile Churches. But we do not find that one of the elders, much less St James, gave room to such suspicions even for a single moment.

And now that we have become thus sensible of the extreme tension of these diversities which were here brought together within so close a compass; how marvelously beautiful and amiable does the clear expression of pure love and unanimity sound forth between these opposite views! By word and deed St Paul lays before them the work of God; he neither extenuates it nor exaggerates it; so that the work of God stands before the eyes of these Jews clear and pure, undistorted by the hand of man; and what do they? To the men they have nothing to say; nothing to explain; but when they have heard the whole matter and the several particulars, they praise God! A simpler and grander, a purer and more perfect reconciliation of diversities in the Church, there cannot be than this, which has brought together the profoundest and the most comprehensive diversities. On both sides everything like human independence and egoism disappears; on the one hand all is made subservient to the setting forth and the pointing out the work of God; on the other all dissolves into the praise of the operation of the same Almighty Being. In this great fact we not only possess a full assurance for the reconciliation of all truly ecclesiastical discrepancies unto the end of time, but it also furnishes a standard for its guidance. For that which is the necessary basis of this Divine harmony in which the Gentile Church and the Jewish Church here for a while sink into a common unity, and thereby inaugurate this act of the completest exhibition and realization of the Apostolic Church, is nothing less than the very diversity which, on both sides, had developed itself freely and diversely in the Spirit. Unity, therefore, must not be made an end at any cost, and sought after by the suppression and the mutilation of peculiarities and natural differences. If the Gentiles and the Jews, if, finally, St Paul and St James, can join together in unity, even though each side had, undisturbed by the other, attained to a full and perfect development, so all conscientious peculiarities and natural diversities can, and ought confidently, to unfold and work themselves out in the Church, without our feeling it to be at all necessary,

from any over anxious care for the ultimate unity, to employ force or constraint at any point of this evolution. On the other hand, from this incident of the Apostolical Church which now lies before us, we see that, in this free and independent development, a point does occur at which a desire and need of unity is furnished by the Spirit Himself. This desire and this need were felt and admitted by St Paul and the Churches of the Gentiles, as soon as a certain stage in the constitution of the latter had been arrived at. This was that strong constraint of the Spirit—that being bound in the Spirit which St Paul spoke of in his last journey to Jerusalem (see xx. 22). In the same way that, at an earlier period, the Spirit had pointed to unrestrained separation, and had resisted all carnal attempts at enforcing uniformity; so at this time the Apostle and his Churches are directed by the same Spirit to union and the restoration of fellowship with the other extreme portion of the Church—the community in Jerusalem—and are required to put down everything like the feelings of party as a carnal disturbance. Consequently, the rule which results from all this is that in separation the Spirit must be supreme as also in union. In the present instance the Spirit was paramount, and displayed itself in the grandest and completest manner possible; and this very fact renders this unparalleled unanimity of the Jews and Gentiles, of St James and St Paul, an ever memorable event.

It must be immediately evident that this event would have the most important results. What lesson all ages ought to draw from the knowledge of it, has already been set forth for the sake of an introductory explanation of the report we have of it. Our present and immediate object, however, is to show what effect flowed from this great event upon those most directly concerned. By the rapid transition to another subject (*εἶπόν τε αὐτῷ*, ver. 20) St Luke evidently wishes to point out the direction in which we shall be justified in looking for the influence of this great crisis. St James and the elders of Jerusalem are, that is to say, convinced that a great many of the Jews who were to be found in the company of the believers in Jesus, entertained a totally erroneous opinion of the Apostle St Paul. For they had been informed, and had not refused to credit the statement (*κατηχήθησαν*, ver. 21) that, in his travels in the lands of the Gentiles, he

had sought to make the Jews discontinue the rite of circumcision. Herein they alluded, it is very clear, to the Judaizing Christians, who had already been troublesome, but who, after the decrees of the Synod of Jerusalem, continued to go about, manifestly as false teachers. That such men should nevertheless possess so great an influence on the majority of the believing Jews, awakens our attention to the dangerous position of the Church in Jerusalem. For in this false conception of St Paul (which, however, is depicted as being the prevailing sentiment entertained of the Apostle by the believing Jews) there is not only revealed a totally culpable disposition to listen to these false teachers, who had been publicly condemned, but also a no less blameworthy estrangement from their proper teachers and guides, who had on a former occasion acknowledged and commended St Paul and his labours (see xv. 25, 26). We cannot but see in these facts the sign of a very remarkable change for the worse in the Jewish community. There was a time in which these Churches were flourishing, when they shone forth to all those that should afterwards arise as a bright exemplar of love and joy, and of the fear of God; and St Luke has not omitted to record this period of their bloom to be an everlasting memorial to the Church (see vol. i. 249—257). But those were, as Luther was wont to say, "rapid seasons" (geschwinde Zeitlaufe), and in truth far more rapid than in the days of the Renewal of the Church. Never has the work of Christ advanced by a progress so rapid and so steadily directed to the goal, as in the days of the first age of the Church; but never likewise has Satan brought into the field so cunningly and so energetically all the might of falsehood and delusion as in this same period. Rapid and deadly was the seduction within the domain of the Gentile Church. The seven Churches of Asia Minor, all of which had in their previous history a glorious and blessed flourishing time, were all of them without exception mortally wounded by the arrows of the evil spirit. Far more pernicious, more universal, and more radically destructive, was the influence which the power of fasehood and temptation exercised within the limits of the Jewish Church. Let us only call to mind the wavering of St Peter and of Barnabas in Antioch! The question, indeed, concerning the independence of the Gentile Christians, and concerning the equal justification of the

Gentile and of the Jewish portion of the Christian communion of the Church, with regard to the salvation of God, had been decided in the formal and solemn assembly of the Church, with such triumphant force of truth, that the most vehement gainsaying could not help itself, but was at once put to silence before it. Subsequently, however, to this decision, it was rendered only the more distinctly apparent that the work of founding and giving shape to the Gentile Church would be carried on really and in earnest. Great communities had been formed in Macedonia, Achaia, and in Asiatic Greece; moreover, the principle of the conversion of the Gentiles had manifested its own intrinsic energy and power to propagate itself, independently of any leading characters specially called to the work; whereas among the Jews it had not only long since come to a stand still, but even (especially in the places where Gentile Churches were established), had given rise to the most opposite feelings. Thus the question, whether they would give up Christ or their own people, was continually recurring anew to the believing Jews with growing urgency and rigour; whether they wished to retain the forgiveness of sins and peace with God within, or fellowship with the whole body of their national traditions and customs. And where there arose the slightest indecision in answering this question, there a hundred reasons presented themselves forthwith, which were well calculated to hide impurity of heart under pretexts the most holy and the most pious. And so it came to pass, that thousands of believing Jews were seduced into the slippery path of making the faith in Jesus an outward thing, and with their apostacy from Jesus, the invisible king of Israel, they were finally lost among the mass of the visible, but corrupt and lost Israel. This slippery path had already been trodden by most of the believing Jews in the land of Judea. On this account things look so different now in the present representation of the Church of Christ upon earth from what they had done on the former occasion. On the first exhibition of it the coming in of the Gentiles was indeed showed forth in all the languages that are under heaven; but still those who represented all the nations of the world were all men of Israel. On the second representation of the Church in the great synod of Jerusalem there were present, it is true, representatives of the

Gentile Church—namely, the deputies from Antioch, chosen from the very midst of the Church there, but still even in this assembly the Israelitish element by far predominated. In the house of St James, on the contrary, the Gentile Christian element is evidently the prevailing one; since the companions of St Paul had been expressly chosen by the Gentile Churches for this very purpose (see 2 Cor. viii. 19), and, moreover, as we know, the Churches themselves, with their heartfelt sympathy, and their prayers, supported, though all invisibly, these their ambassadors in Jerusalem. Although their gifts and offerings properly were intended for the saints, *i.e.*, for the members of the Church; nevertheless no immediate intercourse with the Church in Jerusalem is allowed them as formerly was the case with the deputies from Antioch (see xv. 4). But we must not now allow the perception of this fact to lead us astray in our estimate of this conference in the house of St James; as if it were not an actual exhibition and realization of the unity of the whole Church. For we must, that is to say, take into consideration the fact that the firmness of St James, and all the elders, in presence of these seductive delusions, is so much the more significant, as the multitude did not possess the strength necessary for successfully resisting them. Thus Moses alone might well pass for the representative of the whole people of Israel, as he alone remained faithful, when the whole of his people had fallen away from Jehovah. Thus Isaiah was qualified to realize and manifest the character of the true servant of Jehovah, when Israel, who properly was Jehovah's servant, had, with his constitutional representatives, also cast off his allegiance to Jehovah, whereas Isaiah formed the centre of His few faithful disciples (see Isai. viii. 16; l. 4). St James and the elders do not merely endeavour to overcome the temptation which the existing state of circumstances presented; but by means of their union with the Church of Jerusalem and Judea, they exerted themselves to conquer the assault made upon it by the attempt to seduce the community from their true teachers unto false ones, so that the former teachers and guides, by their imperturbable constancy, fully compensate inwardly for all that is lost to them of outward communion with the members of the Church. We meet here with the same state of things as is presented to us in the Epistle to the

Hebrew Christians. Properly this epistle was designed to keep the Christians of Palestine from the dangerous path of making their religion an outward thing, and from sleepy indifference, and against all extremes. In all this, however, the rulers of the community are depicted as thoroughly free from blame, and urgently commended to them as the safe guides to follow both in faith and obedience, and, indeed, not only those who were already dead (see Heb. xiii. 7—9), but also those who were still living, and labouring among them (see ibid. ver. 17).

It is as such pastors and rulers, and similar to those, whom the Epistle to the Hebrews describes as labouring conscientiously, and watching with all faithful diligence, that St James and the elders of Jerusalem prove themselves. For no sooner had this beautiful harmony between the Gentile Church and the Jewish Church been displayed, than they turned their thoughts to the flock committed to their charge. And they are so deeply grieved by the discordant notes which were sounding forth in the erroneous opinions and tendencies of the people, that they are unable any longer to indulge in the enjoyment of the present blissful moment, but immediately make an unanimous request of St Paul, in the hope that by its means the Christians of Palestine might be induced to enter into a holy and blessed communion with St Paul and the Gentile Christians?

In the first place, the assertions of the President of the Church at Jerusalem call for a closer examination. Some surprise has been felt that several thousands of believing Jews should here be spoken of. Neander has, indeed, drawn attention to the fact, that we must not forget it was the time of the festival, and that therefore we must assume that many Jews had come to Jerusalem from the land of Judea (see Geschichte der Pflanzung i. 380). If now, notwithstanding Zeller seems to throw suspicion on this account (which from its very nature, as Neander justly remarks, ought not to be looked upon as a precise numerical statement), and sharply reproaches it with an exaggeration utterly regardless of historical truth, it is clear that he has neglected to consider two circumstances. On the one hand, from the fact, that subsequently to the outbreak of the persecution, no statements are given in the Acts of the numbers of the new converts in Palestine, we must not draw the conclusion, that there-

fore the Apostolical history knows nothing more of any considerable conversions among the Jews. This silence, on the contrary, had no other reason than this, that the conversions of the Jews, which took place after the Church had passed over from the Jews to the Gentiles, ceased to possess any widely pervading importance for the general development of the Church—which, however, is what the book we are analysing keeps steadily in view throughout. Consequently, our narrative is very far from absolutely preventing us from assuming that the several instances of preaching the Gospel, which are recorded (see viii. 4, 25; ix. 35), were so far successful, that many Jews here and there submitted to baptism, and confessed Jesus as the Christ. The very fact of the existence of Churches in Judea, Galilee, and Samaria, such as are described to us in ix. 31—43, does not admit for one moment of the thought that they were wholly without influence on their neighbourhood. And, secondly, it must also be further added, that we ought not to allow the silence of the Acts of the Apostles any more than the later accounts, which the Fathers of the Church give of the very small number of Jewish Christians generally, to unsettle our convictions with regard to these many thousands, even because the present passage shows most clearly how the progress of the Church among the Gentiles proved to very many of the believing Jews a temptation to apostacy, which they had not the strength to resist.

If we pay regard to all these circumstances, we shall not, I think, wonder if at the moment when the first demonstration of Divine grace was being shewn to Israel, in order that thereupon he might be made to experience the swift wrath of God, St James could speak of the many thousands of believing Jews being present in Jerusalem at the Feast. Now, of all these, St James asserts that they were very zealous for the Law (ver. 20), and that they entertained an opinion with regard to St Paul, that he taught the Jews of the dispersion to forsake the Law (ver. 21). That this opinion of St Paul was not founded solely on their zeal for the Law, the elders intimate by using the particle δὲ (ver. 21). For they knew that they themselves, and St James at the head of them, were zealous for the Law, and at the same time they were totally free from any such sentiments or feeling of hatred towards the Apostle. We recognize at once the influ-

ence of Judaizing teaching (*κατηχήθησαν*, ver. 21), and at the same time it also becomes manifest what direction this Judaizing error had assumed. It had developed itself into hostility to the Apostle Paul and his labours among the Gentiles. That St Paul did not make it his object to induce the Jews, because of their embracing the faith in Jesus, to forsake the law of Moses, is most certain; however, he did teach both Jews and Gentiles, that no performance of works—not even of the works of the Law—could avail to man for his justification and his salvation. The position he took up in this respect, is best explained by the following words: *περιτετμημένος τὶς ἐκλήθη; μὴ ἐπισπάσθω· ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ τὶς ἐκλήθη; μη περιτεμνέσθω. Ἡ περιτομὴ οὐδέν ἐστι καὶ ἡ ἀκροβυστία οὐδέν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τήρησις ἐντολῶν θεοῦ* (1 Cor. vii. 18, 19). But now the Judaizers were anxious at any cost to have the form and shape of Judaism maintained as absolutely necessary for the Church of Christ; since, then, St Paul zealously combated the very idea of such a necessity, and even, by so doing, won over the Gentiles to a willingness to accept the offer of salvation at the same moment that the Jews felt themselves repudiated, they saw in this proceeding, and very justly, the overthrow of Judaism in its external manifestation. Consequently, by the whole course of St Paul's Apostolical labours, they felt themselves mortally wounded in the most sensitive point; and therefore we need not wonder for a moment that the passionate zeal which, from the very first, we discovered in these persons (see xv. 1, 5), led them to adopt a perverse view of the teaching and doings of St Paul, and afterwards to make a perfectly unjust charge against him. Naturally in those communities, in Jewish lands, which at an earlier date had with thanks to God acknowledged the work of St Paul among the Gentiles (see Gal. ii. 24), no access was likely to be found by those Judaizers for party-feeling and calumniation of the Apostle Paul, unless that same feeling and sentiment, with regard to the form and shape of Judaism, had attained to greater definiteness by the course which things had taken.

While, then, from these traits of the Apostolic times, a very natural organisation and grouping of the different prominent tendencies and positions result upon our minds; that view of the Apostolic age which styles itself pre-eminently the critical

school, is greatly perplexed with the statements of the present passage. For inasmuch as these critics had adopted the conviction that in order cunningly to conceal from the eye that huge gulf which yawned between Gentilism and Judaism, which these critics made it their especial merit to have discovered in all its vast profundity, the Acts of the Apostles had thrown over it a light and flimsy veil, they have very naturally been somewhat startled by this passage (xxi. 20, 21); since all at once the whole of this Judaistic antagonism is here revealed by the Apostolic history itself, in all its full breadth and open profundity. In his Weihnachts-programm for the year 1829, Baur proposes the very simple measure of striking the words *τῶν πεπιστευκότων* altogether out of the text. Oh that there were only the slightest justification of such a forcible measure in the critical state of the text! But the real state of the case is the very reverse of that: for since, instead of the received reading *τῶν Ἰουδαίων* (which, alone would allow grammatically for such an omission), an overwhelming weight of authorities gives us *ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις*, which, Tischendorf has also adopted, this idea of Baur's is no longer even a conceivable thing. Therefore recourse must be had to the invention that a something here becomes apparent, which, according to the whole structure of the Book, was little to be expected, and in his work on St Paul, Baur has contrived to make good use of this aspect of the matter (see der Apostel Paulus S. 202). Zeller, on the other hand, is of opinion, that the profundity of the gulf is not so fully laid bare in this passage as Baur represents it; and that that deviation of the present passage from the general tendency of the book which Baur here discovers, has absolutely no existence. For, he argues, it is not said that the Jewish Christians pronounced St Paul an apostate from the Law, but merely that he was viewed by them with suspicion in this light (see theolog. Jahrb. 1849. 561). In this we cannot agree with him. For when it is said "they are informed," this surely does not imply an impression forced upon them, but rather a voluntary concurrence with the statement that causes the change of opinion. For to what purpose would the whole remark serve, if we must suppose on the part of these Jewish Christians any the least unwillingness to listen to this false accusation of St Paul? Moreover, Baur, with good reason, directs our

attention to the fact, that the subsequent events tend to place the Jewish Christians in an ambiguous light (see ibid. S. 201). For if these many thousands had looked upon St Paul as still one of themselves, and were firmly convinced that he was of the same faith, how was it that this conviction did not shew itself, and make itself felt on the occasion of the attack which the Jews made upon St Paul? The perfect indifference, which the Jewish Christians evinced at the danger which threatened the life of St Paul, is a practical proof that they had very eagerly and willingly adopted the account which these Judaizers gave of St Paul's proceedings among the Gentiles. But how, then, does Baur manage to get on with the revelation thus suddenly made by our book? Why, he designates it "a proof that the author was, against his will, constrained to make it by the force of historical truth" (see S. 202). To me, however, it seems, that this appeal to the force of truth comes in very awkwardly in a passage where, according to the hypothesis of these very critics, the real and chief motive that we see prevailing, is an apologetic or conciliatory tendency by which this very truth is to be distorted. For James the Just is now at length the convicted leader of these Judaists (see Baur der Apostel Paulus S. 677—692; Ritschl der Entstehung der altkathol. Kirche. S. 151—153), and in his house it happens, even according to our narrative (of which this testimony of irresistible truth forms a part), that in the presence of James and all the elders of Jerusalem the whole of the labours of St Paul for the conversion of the Gentiles is laid before them in its several particulars; and the answer, or, so to say, the echo to this statement on the part of the rulers of the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem is even nothing else than the giving praise and glory to God for it. That this, however, is not a diplomatic transaction as Baur pretends, is shewn to be the case by Gal. ii. 9, since it clearly evinces the most unqualified and heartiest unanimity between St Paul and St James. Here, therefore, again, the gulf between Jewish Christianity and Gentile Christianity is very skilfully concealed by our author. But now, by this criticism of Baur, we are called upon to suppose that our author, who is said to have composed his history with so deliberate a purpose, should yet, at the very moment when, in a way as skilful as striking, he has contrived to repress and push aside

the truth most hateful to him—the contrast between the Jewish and the Gentile form of Christianity—between St Paul and St James, allows himself nevertheless to be overcome by the force of that very truth which here extracts from him an involuntary testimony to itself! It is very plain that these critics must assuredly have passed through whole labyrinths of erroneous hypotheses, if they cannot see that they are here caught and entangled in their own threads. But here again, it is also shewn quite distinctly, that all this confusion has its source in the fact that these critics have worked, for their own ends, and in their own ways, a field left neglected by theology; and that theology must no longer remain under an obligation to this critical school for having (by the sharp correction which theology has had to undergo at their hands) had its attention awaked to its great delinquency. And there is every prospect that, as soon as theology shall have once gone earnestly to work to repay this obligation, an end will be put to these critics and their occupation.

The Acts of the Apostles, however, are the Ariadne's thread which will extricate theology out of the labyrinths of these critics. For the Apostolical history shows how the opposition between Judaism and Gentilism, which belongs to the history of redemption, and is quite consistent with the declarations of Scripture, but which has not yet been duly estimated by theology, made itself to be felt in the beginning of the historical development of the Church; and how out of this opposition there was evolved within the Church itself a discord of widely divergent tendencies—and in how different, self-energizing spheres of development these discordant tendencies were, on the one hand, combined together by the Spirit into a lively unity and communion, and on the other terminated in malignant enmity and division. Up to the present moment, things have invariably so shaped themselves, that the excitement on the part of the Jews, which, in consequence of this discord, was constantly bursting out, was again put down by the might of the Spirit within the predominant sphere of the Church. This was the effect of the narrative of St Peter after the conversion of Cornelius (see xi. 18); and so also in the second instance when the Jewish tendency began already to be consciously and deliberately followed, the mighty influence of the Spirit triumphed in the great assembly of the Church's representatives

in Jerusalem (see xv. 12). But what shape matters are likely to assume, now that, in Jerusalem, this discord is about to form, for the third time, a difficult knot in the development, does not as yet very clearly appear. A great event has in truth been already accomplished, inasmuch as the rulers of the Church at Jerusalem, without exception and without reserve, had in hearty sympathy joined themselves to the representatives of the Gentile Christian portion of the Church which had now attained to so full a development. Now, will the multitude of the many thousands so judaistically inclined, and so ill disposed to St Paul, again yield in submission to the power of the Spirit, which, in the house of St James, had revealed itself as a spirit of joy and unity among the extreme diversities of the Christian life? It was, as we have already remarked, quite in conformity with the nature of things that the presidents of the Church of Jerusalem should forthwith think of the flocks committed to them; of whom they knew that they were involved in very perilous views and opinions. And the rulers are consequently anxious to apply and to make good use of the great moment of the present meeting of the two portions of the Christian Church, in such a manner as that their several communities may derive from it a wholesome influence. Now, if the same disposition should be found in the several communities as in their presidents; then nothing more would be required for the manifestation and for publicly demonstrating the most perfect and purest unanimity, than this exposition of the Gentile Christian Churches, by means of their representatives and offerings, in the sight of the Jewish Church. But as the presidents of these Churches knew full well that such was not the existing feeling among their several communities, they are unwilling to commence at least by introducing to them these believing Gentiles; they seek first of all by an expedient to allay their excited minds. Since then, as we shall presently see, this expedient failed of the desired success, it never came to that exhibition of the body of believing Gentiles on which, however, there cannot be a doubt, the Gentiles, from the very first, had greatly reckoned; and the motive which caused St Luke to lay so little stress directly on these offerings, may have been the fact, that they did not attain their object. Moreover, it greatly contributes to give us a correct idea of the Jewish apostacy, that the

elders should take it for granted, that the fulfilment by St Paul of an ordinance of the Law in presence of the whole people would be more likely to make an impression on the suspicious minds of the Jews than any exhibition and display of the gifts, which had been gathered and collected by the Gentiles for the relief of the poor members of the Church at Jerusalem.

Now, St James and the presbyters of Jerusalem with one accord make a request of "Brother" Paul, that he would so far join himself to four men of the Church of Jerusalem who had the Nazarite's vow on them, and who in the forthcoming festival were about to be discharged of it publicly and solemnly, as to be at charges for the purification of the four Nazarites from their vow (vv. 23, 24). For in this way the elders thought he would give to the Jews a patent and practical proof that he held the Law in respect, and consequently could not, as he was calumniously reported, teach men every where to forsake the Law (vv. 23, 24). As regards the meaning of this proposition, after the quotations which Wetstein has given from the Talmud and Josephus, modern commentators are agreed in holding, that it was founded on the custom among the Jews for the wealthier of them to defray the expenses of those who had to discharge themselves of the vow of the Nazarite, which must have been regarded as so much the more meritorious, as in addition to the sacrifices expressly ordained, the Law enjoined the bringing of free-will offerings (see Numb. vi. 21). Although, therefore, in this proposition St Paul was not advised to take upon himself the vow of the Nazarite; still a very close union and co-operation of St Paul with the Nazarites, and a participation in the act of purification prescribed by the law, was recommended. And, in the opinion of the Jews, such an act of sympathy and association was in fact looked upon almost as identical with the vow itself (see Wetstein ad., v. 24). Now as we are told that St Paul, without any reluctance or gainsaying, gave his full and entire consent to this proposal (see ver. 25); a disposition has been evinced to discern here a compromise on St Paul's part with Judaism, such as cannot at all be regarded as historically credible (see Baur. der Apostel Paulus, S. 197; Zeller ibid. 558—560). Schneckenburger, who does not venture to call in question the facts themselves, attempts to reconcile them with his own scruples by

presuming that St Paul must have made certain explanations and protestations before he proceeded to this fulfilment of the Law (see Zweck d. Apostel-geschichte S. 65). If now, on the other side, it has been strongly insisted, that if St Paul argued against the law and circumcision only because the Judaizers made justification to depend on legality and circumcision (see Neander Geschichte der Pflanzung, 1. 380; Olshausen ii. 787), this is no doubt on the whole and in the main quite correct, and cannot be refuted by Baur (ibid), and Zeller (ibid.), simply appealing to those declarations of St Paul which are expressly directed against these Judaizing assumptions. But at the same time these critics are in the right, when against these apologists they maintain, that such declarations are not reconcilable with the present practice of St Paul, merely on the assumption that the former had a polemical design. If the position which the Apostle maintained had been one of perfect indifference or laxity with regard to the law and its ordinances, then, by the compliance he here consented to, he would most assuredly have created a false impression of himself; and have incurred the suspicion of having it in view, to bring about by artifice an union when it did not admit of being accomplished in the way of truth and love. For very justly do these critics insist upon the fact, that St Paul, by so entire a compliance with the requirements of the law, as was exhibited in his being at charges with those who had the vow on them, would give rise to the presumption that he was ready, in full truth and sincerity, to comply with the ordinances of the Law; and that the more dependance would be placed on this appearance the more distinctly the elders of the Church of Jerusalem had said that the result of such a public exhibition would be *ὅτι ὧν κατήχηνται περὶ σοῦ οὐδέν ἐστιν, ἀλλα στοιχεῖς καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν νόμον φυλάσσων* (ver. 24) But now this opinion of St Paul's indifference or laxity with regard to the Law is nothing better than a sheer prejudice, which has been founded upon a totally false estimate of St Paul's opposition to the legal point of view. The great and rigorous urgency of this opposition has its source in the carnal tendency of human nature, which makes man rest his pride on the Law in such wise that his pride and the Law appear to be inseparably tied up together, and cannot be annihilated until the nullity of the Law as regards the accom-

plishment of salvation has been clearly demonstrated. This is the result of the experience which St Paul had acquired in his own person, and which was continually repeated in the Jewish people, but which, fundamentally, was but an universal experience of mankind, which in the particular cases mentioned had a specially normal character. It was because of this dangerous alliance between the carnal nature of man and the Law, that St Paul received the call to make war upon the Law. Primarily indeed the Jews furnished the occasion for his carrying this warfare in all directions and with the sharpest weapons; as, however, Jewish Pharisaism was but the normal shape of the general pride of human nature; this warfare of St Paul's is an inestimable service which the Apostle rendered to the whole Gentile Church. This position of hostility to the Law thus taken up by St Paul corresponds to the course of God's government of the world, by which, through the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, all possibility of an external fulfilment of the Law was annihilated. With all this, however, the opposition to the Law is but a passing element, for the Law in itself, as St Paul makes the unqualified admission, is good and holy, righteous and spiritual (see Rom. vii. 12, 14); and besides, it is true also, that by the all-conquering grace of God, even the corruption of human nature and the pride of the flesh is not immutable but transitory. But now if the flesh is mortified, pride broken, and thereby the man has become dead to the Law, what is the standard by which the new man ought to regulate himself? Can there be any other standard for the individual man than what has been given and established by God—the Law with its Commandments? Accordingly, St Paul declares: We do not make void the Law, but we establish the Law (see Rom. iii. 31); in so far as now, on the ground of the grace of Christ and of the new life, the Law again acquires a new validity, as a Divine guidance of our path, in which respect it is so often and so loudly extolled in the Old Testament. It is usual, no doubt, to understand by the Law, so far as according to St Paul's doctrine it acquires a fresh validity in the Church, only the moral law. More correct, however, is the view of Philippi, who (in his Commentar ub. den Briefe an die Röm. S. 107) thus expresses himself with regard to the above-quoted passage of Rom. iii. 31: "The Law in the

present passage comes before us exclusively in its permanent moral reality; however, the ceremonial law ever had a part therein, in so far as the Law clothed higher ethical ideas beneath a perishable veil." However, the limitations ought not to have been drawn either with reference to the Law in general or to the ceremonial law in particular—a reference in which they always appear neither justified nor to the purpose, but merely to the principle of restoration, *i.e.*, to the grace of Jesus Christ, which maketh free, in reference to which they are perfectly intelligible and also justifiable in the whole context of St Paul's writings. The law, which is re-established, can be no other than that which is given, and it can be no otherwise restored than by being given in its totality and in its details; but in so far as by virtue of the new-creating grace of Jesus Christ the law has been implanted in man and become an internal principle; the man who is in Christ must on every occasion judge and determine for himself what his position is relatively to the law: and he must, therefore, determine for himself whether and when, how and where, the law prescribes a duty for him. According to this point of view the distinction between the moral and the so-called ceremonial law has only so far a foundation in fact, as on the one hand by the sentence of obduracy passed upon Israel, and on the other by the sentence of destruction against Jerusalem, the truth is placed before the eyes of all believers that the form of life pleasing and acceptable to God cannot, so long as these sentences last, by any possibility consist in the observance of customs and usages which belonged to and were associated with the existence of the Jews as a people. And accordingly, he who nevertheless would wish to assume that there does exist an obligation for the observance of these forms and customs of life, must have closed his eyes to the obvious facts of Sacred History, and therefore cannot be standing on the basis of the Spirit, which, however, must form the necessary supposition on which the whole matter turns. Precisely, however, if this distinction between the ceremonial and the moral law is not grounded in the law itself, but merely in the historical configuration assumed by the circumstances of the world, does it become at the same time possible that this distinction should in its turn be utterly repealed—precisely, that is to say, when the circumstances of the world

become different; and the prospect of such a change in the relations of the world is certainly held out by the prophetic word of God. Although the sentence of God's wrath passed upon the land and people of Israel may last yet for many centuries, still this period, however long, may be regarded but as the twinkling of an eye—as a vanishing moment which shall be driven away before the fulness of the grace of God, which is to convert Israel and restore him to his inheritance (see Isai. liv. 7, 8). But if Israel is one day to return unto its inheritance, by what other laws and ordinances, by what other customs and usages will he have to regulate himself, than by those which in the times of his youth were given and established by God precisely with a view to this people and to this land? And these holy commandments which take in the whole of the life of Israel as a nation, shall then first of all attain to their due accomplishment and to their original purpose, seeing that during this first inhabitation of the promised land Israel had not as yet been set free from the bonds of his corrupt nature, and had not been able even in a single point to fulfil the holy, good, righteous, and spiritual law. Does not St Paul himself recognize the necessity that that which is set forth by the law as righteousness (*δικαίωμα*) should be fulfilled (see Rom. viii. 4); that it must be performed in all its entire fulness and in all its least details (see Matt. v. 18)? And can he therefore have entertained any other idea of its course than that of which the prophets hold out the prospect, that, viz., Israel would keep the Sabbaths and new moons (see Isai. lxvi. 23), and that all the Gentiles would join Israel in the celebration of the feast of Tabernacles (see Zech. xiv. 18, 19; Ez. xl.—xlviii.)? For that all Israel should be redeemed, and that his call is yet open and waiting for its accomplishment, is as firmly established with the Apostle Paul as with the prophets of the Old Covenant (see Rom. xi. 26—29).

If, then, according to this, we frame our view of the Pauline idea of the significance of the law in the times and circumstances of the law, we shall then say that in the olden time it had been fully proved that the law was unable to assist either Israel, or any individual of that people, in the attainment of salvation; because there was not, either in the whole people or in individuals, the necessary strength for fulfilling the law. For the only effectual power that ever existed in the world for that end is the grace of the Lord

Jesus Christ. In order, however, that the dangerous delusion (which has its root so deeply set in the character and nature of man,) that justification and salvation can come from the observance of the law, might be put aside utterly and for ever, and that, contrariwise, the grace of Jesus Christ, with its all-sufficiency and independence, might obtain free room and scope for its full working, it was primarily so ordained that the performance of the law in all its manifold and external ordinances should in the case of the whole body of the community first of all, and then in the case of individuals, turn out a source of resistance to the manifest will and counsels of God; since, that is to say, the people of Israel is hardened, and the land and sanctuary of Israel is laid waste. As, however, in the Spirit, the divinity and the inviolability of the law in all its integrity is openly maintained, so the same import of the law must attain to its manifestation; just as even all that is hidden is destined to be made manifest. When, to the eye of the believer, the righteousness of the law has been annulled in the history of the world, and by the same history the all-sufficiency of grace has been established; then that turn of things will arise when the performance of the law in its chief points and its slightest details may be fully carried out.

If, then, we connect the doctrine and practice of St Paul with the whole context of the history of salvation as given in Scripture, precisely in the way that St Paul himself conceived of it, we shall have little difficulty in convincing ourselves, that St Paul, when he consented to follow the counsel of St James and the elders, was under no necessity of doing violence to his own feelings. For (leaving out of the question the obvious inconsistency of such a course) if he had, nothing but an unreal union could have been had in view. First of all, we must try and realize to our minds the position which the Church of Jerusalem maintained with regard to the fulfilment of the law. For even in this respect we shall meet with something new. From the very beginning it was clear to our minds that the Church of Christ in Jerusalem fully complied with the customs and observances of their people; they still had their sanctuary in the temple on the Holy Mountain; their times of prayer were at the same hours as the people of Israel were wont to assemble (see vol. i. 81, 176, 177). These original features of communion between

the believers in Jerusalem and the people of Israel, had, however, been now enlarged to the very utmost extent short of absolute identity. St James and the elders tell St Paul of four Nazarites belonging to the community. The vow of the Nazarite is one of the most extreme abstinence and purification. It is true that we have before this met with the vow of the Nazarite within the domain of Christendom,—in the case, that is, of the Apostle Paul himself. There, however, it occurred in the form which became the Apostle of the Gentiles, the preacher of freedom from the law, and suited the times of intrinsic piety and spirituality,—in the shape, that is, of the free spirit unshackled by the forms of the law. But in the present instance this manifestation of piety appears in strict and regular compliance with all legal and external forms. For, above all, especial prominence is given to the sacrifices of these Nazarites. But now the sacrifices prescribed by the law for the separation from the vow of the Nazarite, comprised every species of sacrifices that generally were customary. For on such occasions it was ordained that a he-lamb should be sacrificed for a burnt offering; an ewe-lamb for a sin offering; a ram for a peace offering; and besides these, cakes and bread of all kinds, with the appropriate meat offerings and drink offerings, to which, lastly, was to be added his free-will offerings (see Numb. vi. 13—21). It was for the numerous and costly offerings, which the four Nazarites had to offer up, that the help and assistance of the Apostle Paul was claimed. We therefore see here quite obviously and distinctly, that the Church of Christ in Jerusalem had adopted the whole ritual of Jewish sacrifice, inasmuch as they do not merely practise what was customary in these circumstances, but also freely join thereto what was left to their voluntary determination. It is evidently not owing to accident that we meet with this account, that even now, after the Gentile Church has succeeded in maintaining its independence, and even after that the Apostles of Israel have had to seek in the wide domain of heathendom a field for them to labour in, the Church of Christ in Jerusalem evinces this perfect concurrence with the law and the customs of Israel. For the more that the external union of the Church with Israel disappeared amidst the grand new creations of Church communion, the nearer the time seemed to approach when the whole

Church threatened to become a Gentile Church; the more firmly the more steadily must the Church in Jerusalem keep its vocation in view; which was from its certainly quite isolated position (which, however, had indeed been set forth as a sacred eminence overlooking the whole world), it might exhibit palpably and openly the external connexion between the Church of Christ and the people of Israel, or rather manifest itself as the proper continuation and succession of that people.

But does not the offering of an animal sacrifice, and especially of a sin offering, involve a denial of the Lamb of God who once for all has borne the sins of the world? Does not the practical recognition of the Aaronitic Priesthood, which was intimately associated with all sacrifices of this kind, imply a rejection of the one High Priest after the order of Melchisedek? Have we not here the evident commencement of the Roman Catholic sacrifice of the Mass—of a Roman Catholic Priesthood? The remark that sacrifice in and by itself is a purely human thing (as Hengstenberg has recently with much truth observed; see his die Opfer der heiligen Schrift. S. 8) cannot help us very much out of the present difficulty; since what we have here to consider is the offering of special sacrifices, all of which point to sin and the gulf between God and Man. But the source of our surprise lies exclusively in the fact, that we are too much accustomed, in the consideration of holy and divine things, to take into our view only the present period and season—the times of the Gentiles, when, with the Holy Scriptures for our guide, we ought to place ourselves on such an eminence as will give us the command of the whole course of the several periods of God's Kingdom. If we assume that under the Old dispensation the Aaronitic Priesthood did not constitute any impediment to a belief in the Eternal High Priest, why should it of necessity be so under the New? And if the sin offering of the Nazarite, in the times of the Old Testament, was not any obstacle to the faith in the great sin offering for the guilt of the whole world, why should the ewe-lambs, which were offered up for the four Nazarites, be supposed to dim the eternal glory which gleams around the Lamb of God? Nay, still more: if the belief in the eternal High Priesthood, as well as in the everlasting Atonement, had by God's appointment assumed in Israel the form of a mediation

through an ordained priesthood, and a prescribed system of sacrifices; why should this historical completion of the High Priesthood effect any change in the everlasting Atonement, and why should not rather this intermediate system be the only natural and popular mode in which faith could most effectually realize itself? Now, as long as the God of Israel allowed His Temple to stand in the Holy Mountain, and as long as the legal Priesthood continued to officiate and their functions remained, how could the Church in Jerusalem, which must have recognized more and more distinctly that the task which they had to perform was to effect the external manifestation,of the holy seed of Israel (see Isai. vi. 13),—have ever come to suppose that they could realize and exhibit their faith in Jesus Christ by any other method and way than by the most perfect compliance with the ordinances and practices which had been prescribed to them as a people? The error of the Roman Catholic doctrines and practices consists exclusively in this, that a priestly office and sacrifice has been set up, after God's avenging hand had been revealed against the law and people of Israel. And simply because it is a self-constituted priesthood and sacrifice, and a resistance to what God has done, therefore as such it is not an appropriation of the everlasting Atonement, but even a darkening of the Divine brightness.

Before a professed faith in Jesus could ever be driven by such practices to act without, or rather against God, it must, in some way or other, have already departed from Jesus; for all sacrifice to the Father is in and with the Son. And we have, in fact, already had reason to assume the existence in the Church of Jerusalem of such an incipient corruption of the faith; and, indeed, precisely in an erroneous disposition of this kind to insist on the priesthood and the sacrificial system of the Old Testament. And this is the very weakness of the Church at Jerusalem, which the Epistle to the Hebrews attempts with all its force to correct (see especially xiii. 9; Bleek ii. 2, 1005, 1009). And the difference between the elders of the Church and its members, in reference to this weakness, consists precisely in this, that by the grace of God the former have their hearts settled and confirmed; and with them all exercise of legal religious ordinances is now nothing, but a resting in grace, or a movement from this eternally

irrevocable position; whereas the latter are continually occupied with the sacrificial meats, in the hope of gaining from them some equivalent for the Bread which had come down from heaven, and had given life to the world. That the elders do hold this immoveable position relatively to Jesus, results, even here, distinctly enough, from their sincere and hearty recognition of the work of God among the Gentiles, where there was no trace of the law of Moses, and nothing was apparent but the grace of God in Christ. And they kept this sentiment and this position steadily in view, even in the advice which they gave to St Paul, as they distinctly give us to understand in the fact, that in the same sentence they allude to the decree of the Assembly of Jerusalem as to one of permanent obligation (see ver. 25). For the chief object of this decree was even that of maintaining the independence of the Gentile Churches as such.

In this light the position of the elders of the Church of Jerusalem relatively to the Nazaritic sacrifices of these members of their community would be perfectly intelligible, and from this point of view we can quite comprehend the fact of St Paul having mixed himself up with them in the solemn discharge of their vow. Since the mission of St Paul was the very opposite of that which St James had in his Church, and since he had to manifest and to bring about the effectual realization of the grace of God in its perfect and absolute freedom; it is easy to see that such a compliance with the forms of the law would not be intelligible at every time, and especially not at a time when it was an imperative necessity that that aspect of the kingdom of God should be promoted. Thus we know of St Paul that, on the occasion of his presence at Jerusalem during the great Assembly of the representatives of the Church, he particularly insisted, in opposition to the false brethren, on maintaining and demonstrating his own freedom from the law (see Gal. ii. 4, 5). But at present the state of things is quite different. The Gentile Church has been firmly established in the world by the Lord; it has already been acknowledged by all the Apostles; and it has just now been hailed with unanimous ascription of praise to God, in that very portion of the Church which formed the opposite to the Gentile development. This was a moment which pointed onwards, and enlightens us as to the final form which the future should assume, when the fulness of the Gen-

tiles should come in, and Israel should recognize the hand of their God and King in this work among the Gentiles. And to such a moment, which clearly pointed to the cessation of the peculiar form of the Gentile Church, and to that of the peculiar Apostolate of the Gentiles, corresponds a certain course of conduct of that Apostle, which in ordinary days we do not find him pursuing. This is a moment at which it must appear to us quite intelligible, if St Paul gives to this Divine law even an outward recognition, which, indeed, in its principles, he always respected, although ordinarily he found it impossible to acknowledge it anywhere else than in the domain of the Spirit. Thereby he brings clearly before us the final prospect of the disappearance of the exceptional position he held as the thirteenth Apostle. And under these circumstances, can St Paul think or wish for a more noble or more beautiful employment of a part at least of the alms which the Gentiles had brought with them, than to contribute towards the solemn sacrifices with which the four poor Nazarites, belonging to the Church of the Jews, were required to offer for the discharge of their vow? Must not the help thus contributed by the Gentiles to such offerings on the part of the Jews who believed in Jesus, on which the special approbation and the prayers of James and the elders rested, appear to him in the light of a preliminary fulfilment of all that which, according to God's special providence, the Gentiles had from time to time been permitted of old to contribute to the worship of Jehovah among His people? Must not these gifts of the heathen, thus offered by his ministry, have appeared to him as a beginning which enjoined and guaranteed the final end of these offerings, with which, according to the declarations of the word of prophecy, the Gentiles were one day to adorn the sanctuary of Israel, and to render glorious the worship of the people of God (see Isa. lx. 5—13; xlix. 22, 23; lx. 12; Hagg. ii. 8, 9; Zech. xiv. 16).

Accordingly, that which is here narrated of St Paul is so far from being a renunciation of his own Christian principle and position, that we even see in it a manifestation of one aspect of his position and character in the same precision and definiteness as it is exhibited to us in the authentic explanations of the Apostle himself. Undoubtedly we have no need to feel further surprise, either if the Critics should take great offence at what is here told us; or that the Apologists have given them but an

unsatisfactory answer. For that aspect of the conduct of St Paul, which here comes so peculiarly into view, is precisely the very one which has been so long and so generally neglected or ignored by theology.

But the clearer it has become to us that the conduct of St Paul at this moment only tends to set in still brighter light the fact of the pre-eminent importance of that moment in the development of the Church which is here placed before us; with the greater expectation must we look forward to the result, and in the first place to the impression which this act of obedience of St Paul, in which he openly exhibited his perfect subjection to the sacred and Divine letter of the law, will make upon the majority of the believing Jews. Let us first of all distinctly settle what it was that St James and the elders looked for from this proceeding; and, secondly, what St Paul himself expected would be the result of it. If St Paul should, as they had proposed, make common cause with these Nazarites, a public testimony would thereby be given to his perfect compliance with the Law; and thereby it would become immediately possible for every one of the believing Israelites to convince himself of the untruth of all these Judaistic calumnies against the Apostle. If the believing Jews evinced a ready disposition to listen to this testimony, and thereby to form a true conception of the Apostle's character, then they would also become capable of understanding his whole work and proceeding, and especially his present visit, and his being accompanied with so many Gentiles; they would be able to comprehend the spirit of brotherly love, which, by means of the deputed brethren, and of the gifts which had been sent, desired to stretch out to them the hand of fellowship. As soon as such a right comprehension of the conduct of the Apostle of the Gentiles, and of the spirit of love which had animated the Gentile Churches, had been established among the believers of the circumcision, then such a reciprocity of feeling, and such fellowship on the part of the Church of the Jews with the representatives of the Gentile Churches would have followed, as had already been exhibited in the house of St James. And if the many thousands of believing Jews acknowledged the conversion of the Gentiles to the living God, and celebrated it with loud and public praises as a preliminary fulfilment of the final

prospect of all the prophets, how ever could the rest of their people and nation have been able to resist so mighty a testimony? By such constraining testimony obdurate Israel would have been touched in the inmost recesses of their nature, and by such an attestation from God, all resistance would (as had long been held out in prospect), have been put down, and they would have thrown themselves at the feet of their Lord and their king. So far the thoughts of the elders of Jerusalem may, and probably did reach; and since we see that they did with all diligence direct their attention to the first condition and commencement of this glorious development, we may fairly presume that they, in their ultimate plans, really did take in the view we have pointed out. And St Paul? Judging from all that we know of his position and his teaching, must we not suppose that he likewise would fully enter into all these thoughts and wishes? For even though he had so many opposing and disturbing feelings to overcome; even though the Divine sentence which had been passed upon Israel may have pressed never so heavily on his heart; still we know that towards Israel he was animated with that charity which "hopes all things, believes all things, endures all things" (see 1 Cor. xiii. 7). Accordingly the great step which St Paul here takes by the advice of the elders is associated with a prospect in which the little band of the elders, and then the whole community of believers in Jerusalem, looked upon itself as comprising the whole people of Israel, and consequently viewed immediately their legal and national position as the final form of the Church of Christ on earth; while, according to the same prospect, St Paul must have looked upon his own Apostolical office, just as at that moment it must have appeared to him, as a vanishing point in the whole development of the Church of Christ.

The result, however, was the direct opposite of all that St James and the elders looked forward to, and so earnestly longed for. The time at which the so fatal decision was passed is very accurately given. For it is writien "when the seven days were almost ended" (ver. 27). Usually by these seven days Commentators have understood either the period of the vow (as Olshausen Meyer, de Wette), or the time of the separation from the vow (as among others Lundius, see Judische Heiligthumer S. 644,

645). The last interpretation is recommended by a reference of this chronological statement to the expression in ver. 26, *διαγγέλλων τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ ἁγνισμοῦ*—which we must evidently with Lundius (ibid.) explain by the legal regulations as stated in Numbers vi. 13, and therefore cannot in any case be referred (as, however, is done by recent commentators) to the duration, but rather to the termination of the vow. Nevertheless, in the first place, it is scarcely probable that seven days could be occupied with the bringing up of offerings for the purification of the Nazarites; and secondly, the assumption of St Paul's having spent seven days in the temple is at issue with the account in xxiv. 11, according to which seventeen days must have elapsed since his arrival in Jerusalem (as Neander has already remarked, see Geschichte der Pflanzung S. 381. Anm.); and lastly, it is not credible that St Paul could have remained six days in the temple in company with these Nazarites without being recognized. The two reasons last adduced are also decisive against the interpretation of the latest commentators, which, moreover, has this also against it, that a Nazaritic state of seven days, in so far as the growth of the hair of the head is an essential feature of the vow, is a totally untenable assumption; and the account of the Talmud and of Josephus, who fix the duration of the vow at thirty days, cannot be looked upon, as Meyer thinks it must, as an indefinite statement, but rather as the fixing of the shortest allowable period.

Since the reference of these seven days to the chronological duration of the Nazariteship proves to be untenable, no other course remains but with Wieseler (see Chronol. des Apostolichen Zeitalters S. 110), to refer the statement of time to the close of the seventh Sabbath day, an enumeration which, as we have seen, St Luke has, after the manner of the Jews, adopted in this part of his narrative, so that the catastrophe coincides with that festival of Pentecost which St Paul had so ardently longed to celebrate (see xx. 10). For the Jews from Asia Minor who were present in Jerusalem, see the Apostle in the temple, and immediately upon recognizing him stir up the multitude and lay hands upon him (ver. 27); and from this moment the rage of the Jews against St Paul increases almost to madness, and thereby the final catastrophe is precipitated on Israel. The many thousands of believing Jews at

(see xxiv. 18)? But of such reflection, of such an impression, not the slightest trace! Hatred of St Paul had so filled the bosoms of the Jews, that whatever the eye might see in him, no thought can find a place in their minds but vengeance against the enemy of the Jews."

With the exclamation and cries of their violent animosity, they seek to excite the whole multitude against St Paul. We need not dwell at all upon the charges that they brought against him, that he taught every where against the people Israel, against the law and against the holy place; as they are but a repetition of the accusations which were brought against St Stephen (see vi. 12—14), and are also to be explained in the same way now as then. Here, however, it is further added (and this feature of the case exasperates very considerably their hatred of St Paul), that he everywhere made a very great impression with his teaching; and it is on this account that they omit to repeat constantly the especially aggravating circumstance (*πάντας πανταχοῦ διδάσκων*, ver. 28). But in the midst of their complaints, the Jews might have perceived that such accusations were sadly out of place in such a place. For the very man whom they are arraigning of enmity to Israel, is found by them in the temple, where he is engaged in making a rich outlay, from the money entrusted to him by the Gentiles, in assisting those who were looked upon as the choicest saints in Israel in their holy work; he whom they are arraigning of enmity to the law, he is even occupied in such a fulfilment of the law as is generally regarded as specially meritorious; lastly, he who is represented as spreading a contempt for the sanctuary, has come up at the period of the Festival, in order to comply with the law and institutions of Israel, and to present himself to the Lord in the holy place. For this reason, the Jewish fanatics necessarily make use of a pretext which they caught up for the immediate occasion, in order to cover this obvious inconsistency of their complaints, and to furnish them with an available handle. But even in their passionate blindness, they take hold of the very circumstance which might and ought to have served to bring them to their right senses. They urge it as an objection against St Paul, that he had brought Greeks into the temple, and had thereby polluted the Holy Place (ver. 28). But even here the overhastiness

of passion had carried them much too far. The whole matter (which alone they can here have alluded to), was confined to this, that they had previously seen St Paul in the city with one Trophimus, an Ephesian, one of the Apostle's Gentile companions (see xx. 4), in which naturally there was nothing to take offence at. But precisely the remarkable circumstance, that St Paul had brought Gentiles with him to Jerusalem in the feast time of Jehovah, when the tribes of Jerusalem come up to present themselves in the sanctuary of their God, had necessarily awakened the attention of the Jews to the great sign of their God and Saviour, who sought to move them to jealousy, with those that were not a people; to entice and move them (see Deut. xxxii. 21), in order that He might not have cruelly to plague them by those that were not a people, and to break in pieces their hard hearts (Lev. xxvi. 30). With their minds thus utterly perverted, that which was intended to be for their salvation, was but turned by them into a further occasion of perversity and wickedness. The fearful rage which burst forth in this passionate outcry against St Paul on the one hand, and on the other hand, the susceptibility of the whole body of the Jews in Jerusalem for such fanatical outbreaks, soon brought it about, that the whole city was in an uproar, and the whole populace came running together to the temple (ver. 30). St Paul was thereupon seized by the angry multitude, and dragged out of the temple, and forthwith the doors of it shut (ver. 30). This last remark is understood by the most recent commentators—Olshausen, Meyer, and de Wette—as intended to intimate to us the care of the Jews that the temple might not be polluted by the blood of St Paul; so that they were quite ready to perform the most dreadful deed, but yet sought to maintain an appearance of piety; just as Herod had no scruple in shedding the blood of St Peter, but yet was religiously averse to profane the day of the Passover (see xii. 3, 4). To my mind, however, the more obvious interpretation of this little incident recorded by St Luke is that which Bengel suggests: that, namely, the shutting of the outer doors of the temple was intended in any case to cut off from St Paul all chance of taking refuge in the temple, or at the altar. Against this view Meyer insists, that the right of Sanctuary existed for none others but those who had unintentionally been guilty of murder; and that therefore a flight to the holy places

would not have afforded any protection to the Apostle. But here, however, we are not concerned with the ordinances of the law, but merely with the belief that furnished the foundation to them —the belief in the inviolability of the holy places (see 1 Kings ii. 28, 29; Matt. xxiii. 35)—the benefit of which must by no means be left available to St Paul. This proceeding does but serve to place in a still more hideous light the malice and wickedness of the Jews. Even a sinner who fled for succour from the scene of his transgression into the sanctuary, might obtain a temporary refuge and protection in the holiness of the place. But St Paul, even by his sojourn in the temple, had proved that he was not a transgressor, but a fulfiller of the law; and yet to him that was interdicted which could not be withholden even from the blood-stained manslayer.

When then the last hope of refuge was cut off from the Apostle, the excited populace were ready to proceed against St Paul even in a still more informal and passionate way than they had against St Stephen. They went about, as we learn from ver. 32, to kill him. In a few seconds all would have been over with the life of St Paul, and the blood of the instrument whom God had chosen for the building up of his Church would have been poured out on the Holy Mountain by the hands of the people of God! What malice and sin desired in this matter must be looked upon as accomplished and laid to their charge; as indeed, in the opposite direction, the obedience of Abraham was looked upon as fully accomplished when he had lifted up his hand with the knife to slay his son, bound on the altar before him. And thus, again, the words of St Stephen receive a fresh fulfilment, that Israel persevered in the same temper of resistance to the Holy Ghost and of deadly animosity and persecution of the messengers of God, as had been shewn in Israel in the time of their fathers from Joseph down to Moses (see vii. 51—53). The word of the Lord has its confirmation: "It cannot be that a prophet should perish out of Jerusalem" (see Luke xiii. 33). We now see that this saying holds good not merely of the great prophets, not only of his Apostle James; but also of that Apostle whom the Lord had endowed above all others with prophetical gifts and signs, whom he had placed in the very midst of the great theatre of the world as the marvellous creation of His love

and His Spirit; in order that, if there was still a possibility of saving His people, the offer might be vouchsafed to them before the coming of the day of wrath. We now see that this awful saying of the Lord is also to hold good in the case of St Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, the last prophet; and thereby there yawns before our eyes an unavoidable gulf in which the future of Israel is swallowed up.

Abraham of old was held back by the Angel's voice when on Mount Moriah he was on the point of sacrificing his son; and on the same mountain the sons of Abraham also, when they had resolved to shed the blood of St Paul, were themselves restrained from perpetrating that foul deed. It was not for Abraham's sake that his hand was stayed, for his obedience was already accomplished; neither in like manner was it for Israel's sake that their hands were stayed; for in their instance, also, disobedience had filled its full measure (see Matt. xxiii. 32; 1 Thess. ii. 16). But as on that occasion it was for Isaac's sake that the actual sacrifice was prevented, so in this it was on account of St Paul. It is true we do not in this instance see any angel descending from heaven; still the intervention which does occur is not the less marvellous. Whence is protection to be vouchsafed to the Apostle of Christ, if, in the Sanctuary of the Lord, on the very mountain of the temple of Jehovah, in the very midst of the people of God, he is exposed to danger of death? To every human eye and to every human judgment, all prospect of help is shut out, and all hope is lost! And yet, notwithstanding, at the very critical moment protection is afforded him, by which he is enabled to return again to the scene of his vast and world-embracing labours. And whence comes this deliverance, this protection, this preservation of the most energetic of the Apostolic labourers? From a quarter of the world which in itself was not only most remote from the kingdom of God; but had even as a hostile rival bidden it defiance—namely, from Rome —the fourth and last of the Empires of the world, and, in truth, from that power of this Empire which most effectually exhibited and realized its ungodly, harsh, cruel, and crushing iron nature (see Dan. ii. 23, 40; vii. 19),—that is to say, from the military power of Rome. For when they went about to kill him with their blows, the official report (for φάσις is not a mere rumour only,

but an official declaration—see the proofs in Grotius and Wetstein in loc.) that all Jerusalem was in an uproar, is carried to the Chief Captain of the Roman cohorts stationed in the castle of Antonia. For, according to Josephus, a Roman garrison was regularly maintained in the castle of Antonia (which from the north-west commanded the temple, which), especially at the times of the Great Festivals, and consequently at the Pentecost, when the events here narrated took place, was accustomed to station outposts in the vicinity of the temple. It was the military discipline of this garrison which thus commanded the mountain of the temple and the whole city which is now, all at once, displayed before our eyes. The word passed from post to post quickly sets in motion and rouses to action the Commander —a military tribune or prefect (see Grotius on ver. 32), whose name St Luke has not omitted to record (ver. 23, 28). With soldiers and centurions, he hastens down from the heights where the castle was situated to the lower level of the hill on which the temple stood (see Josephus, ibid.). The very appearance of this armed Roman band on the mountain of the temple sufficed to put a stop to the murderous assault which the Jews were making upon St Paul. It is self-evident that this turn of things admits of a very natural solution. The Roman garrison on Mount Antonia was expressly charged with the exercise of all the police services of Jerusalem, and consequently it was its duty to suppress all disorder and tumult. Accordingly they would have been obliged to afford as much protection to a street robber against any tumultuous assault as they did to St Paul; and one cannot but think it requisite to insist the more upon this view of the transaction since it is soon shewn that the Tribune did not look upon the ill-treated St Paul as any thing better than a common disturber of the peace. However, such a merely natural view of the case would scarcely satisfy the meaning and the views of our narrative. As in every event of St Luke's history, so in the present also, we must always keep in mind the lofty eminence, on which the author placed us at the opening of his work, to enable us to contemplate aright the events to be brought before us. If we adhere to this point of view on the present occasion, then, behind these external events, whose course St Luke has traced with great fulness and unmis-

takeable design, we shall not fail to discern a rich background, and to gain a deep insight into the secret concatenation of circumstances and events. It is at this moment that we must call to mind the great and heartfelt sympathy and anxiety with which the Gentiles in every place had regarded this sojourn of the Apostle Paul in Jerusalem; we must not forget the earnest prayers which had gone up to the throne of God's grace in behalf of the Apostle, who, according to the voice of the Spirit, was menaced with death; we must bring before our minds the agony and the prayer of all his faithful companions who, from Corinth up to Cesarea, had gathered round the Apostle, and among them St Luke and Timothy; and who now, with their own eyes, behold him, given over to the fury of the malicious and hardened Jews. And what ought we to think of St James and the elders? What of the four Nazarites, and of many other true and faithful members of the Christian Church at Jerusalem? Even though they were doomed to witness with the deepest pain of heart this most provoking and disgraceful disappointment both of all their hopes for the great multitude of the believing Jews and of their ulterior designs for the whole body of the Jewish people; still they could not refuse to the sufferings of the Apostle of the Gentiles their inmost and most heartfelt sympathy, and fundamentally, too, they also are aware that the final salvation of Israel could not be brought about by any other means than the conversion of the Gentiles to the living God, and so their last hopes must have rested on the labours of St Paul, and consequently also on his preservation. This anxiety and sorrow, this earnest intercession and prayer of the faithful among the Gentiles, and among the Jews also, for the Apostle Paul and his preservation, is the quiet, hidden mystery to which we are led by the context of our history. And it is because of this hidden and sacred cause that the narrative dwells with so much circumstantiality, and so fondly, on the external events which took their shape from it under the dispensation of the Almighty God, who sits enthroned in heaven. We have already on a similar occasion seen the malice of the Jews frustrated and disappointed of its end, because within the heathen world to whose rule the present times and seasons are put into subjection, there exists a power which works for good and for salvation. This power of the heathen secular

power which works for good, through the wrestling and struggling of these Gentiles and Jews, who earnestly besought God as Daniel of old did, in prayer and fasting, obtains so far the supremacy, that the power of the Roman empire which properly tended to the destruction of all Divine ordinances upon earth, is now employed for the preservation of the Apostle of the Gentiles, and consequently for the permanent salvation of the nations and peoples. And as St Luke evidently wishes us to regard these natural proceedings on the temple mount, together with the appearance of the Roman soldiery, in this light of a providential dispensation; he has been impelled by the Holy Spirit to set so distinctly before our eyes this beginning of the deliverance of the Apostle with all its consequences.

The first thing which the Roman tribune sets about, is to secure the person of St Paul, and to cause him to be bound with two chains (ver. 33). Thereby the express prophecy of Agabus is fulfilled (see xxi. 11). Agabus, indeed, had said that the Jews would bind him and deliver him to the Gentiles, in which words the proceedings which the Jews had taken against the Lord Himself are very precisely described. Here this prediction is fulfilled in such wise that both happen to St Paul—viz., the being bound, and the being delivered over, and the Jews stand forth as the authors of this twofold suffering on the part of the Apostle. Thus, therefore, in all essential points, the declaration of Agabus was fulfilled, and thereby it becomes manifest that there was here going on a repetition of the same injustice as had been perpetrated on the Lord Himself. But the form of the fact is different. This rests partly on the circumstance that the hatred of the Jews has become still more violent; and, partly on the fact that among the Gentiles, another power than that of injustice shows itself in operation; by which means the delivery to the Gentiles which, in the case of Jesus, had led to his death, is here the only means of St Paul's deliverance and of the furtherance of his plans. Ought we not, therefore, to suppose that this modification in the accomplishment of the exact words of prophecy must have been effected by the execution of St Paul's intended journey, which had since taken place, and the deeper earnestness and urgency in consequence of the prayers and intercession of the saints? The fact that Lysias caused St Paul to be bound with two chains is

explained by the opinion he entertained (as he subsequently avows) that St Paul was a dangerous malefactor, and in all probability the Egyptian stirrer of sedition, who, a few days before, had been condemned (ver. 38.) For this trait contributes to place in still clearer light the conduct of the Jews. That is to say, the Roman tribune cannot suppose that such fury can have been excited by any slighter cause than some public offence worthy of death. And thereby the salutary influence of an orderly proceeding is only rendered the more apparent and the more perceptible. As soon as St Paul is secured and placed in safety, the Tribune institutes an inquiry as to who he was, and what crime he had committed. Although, therefore, he takes it for granted that he is an offender, he nevertheless is desirous for further information concerning him. But the Jews, although they had seen how St Paul had laboured earnestly to fulfil all the righteousness of the law, nevertheless had at once addressed themselves to put him to death without inquiry. It is, therefore, perfectly intelligible, if the Roman Tribune could get from the Jews no satisfactory answer to either of these two questions (ver. 34). The people ought surely to have become deeply ashamed of their tumultuous clamour when on the mountain of the holy temple, the Roman Tribune officially put to them these two plain and simple questions about the matter. The Tribune must have very soon perceived that no information was to be gained from those around him; he therefore causes St Paul to be carried out of the camp of Israel (see Heb. xiii. 13; Bleek Commentar ii. 2, 1015), into the camp of the Roman garrison (see Winer biblisch. Realworterb. ii. 3)—into the camp of the heathen. By this proceeding, Lysias hopes to be able to inquire more fully into the offence committed by the prisoner, and according to the result, to assign to him his merited punishment. But in the purposes of the history we are examining, it was designed that, by the eventual determination of the Roman soldier, the Apostle should be more certainly delivered from the malice of the Jews, and committed to the protection of the power of Rome.

As they ascend the steps which led to the Roman encampment, just at the point where the boundaries of the Jewish and the Gentile domains in this region touch, the difference of the behaviour of the Jewish people and the Roman soldiers towards the Apostle

Paul attains to a very clear manifestation. On the steps which lead to the Roman camp the press and violence of the people was so great that St Paul was lifted off his feet, and he was carried consequently by the Roman soldiers while the populace press upon him with the tumultuous cries "Away with him!" Thus again are we made to see that if the affair does not take the same course with St Paul as with the Holy Jesus, it is not owing to the Jews but merely to the different position relatively to justice which the Gentiles were now careful to maintain. When St Paul had reached the top of the stairs and thereby felt himself so far rescued from the outward violence of his countrymen, a desire arose in his mind to address the populace. What energy and what love did the Lord permit to dwell in the spirit of this man! How much must he already have suffered in body from the violent blows and fists of those his fierce enemies! How much more, however, must he have suffered in his soul, when he found that all his profound humility, his faithful love, are returned and repaid with such horrible malice!—when he was constrained to see how the last and the extreme resources of God's love for the rescuing of his brethren, whom in truth he even calls his own flesh (see Rom. xi. 14), are, by their inexpressible blindness, annihilated and frustrated by the Jews themselves—nay, how even that which, under the present state of circumstances, could alone soften stony hearts, would only contribute to the hardening of their hearts still more and more, and to render still fuller the measure of their iniquity. How agitating must it have been to his whole inner being, to owe to the weapons and to the hands of Roman soldiers, protection from the fury of the Jewish people, and that, too, in the temple and on the holy mountain! And all these impressions are still fresh and present to his mind! he still can hear the outcries of the Jews demanding his life, and he still continues to see in the arms of the Roman legionaries his only protection against the menaces and fury of the raging Jews. And nevertheless he is anxious to address them! As long as there is any strength of life in him he is willing to devote it to speak of that Holy Name (which in the midst of his hostility had embraced him, and had changed him), to preach it in the midst of the stormy zeal of his people and nation, in the hope that perchance they might be assuaged by that sacred power of love. For as soon

as St Paul had reached the Castle Antonia, and was on the very point of entering the camp of the Romans and of separating himself from the people of the Jews, he asks the Tribune if he may be permitted to address a few words to the people (see ver. 37—39). Baur cannot understand how the Roman Tribune should ever have given such a permission to the Apostle, a prisoner whom he still seemed to look upon as a mover of sedition of the most dangerous sort, and of whom he knew nothing more than what he had learned from the captive himself, "that he was a Jew of Tarsus," especially as it could not be otherwise than foreseen what effect such an address was likely to have on so terribly excited a multitude (see der Apostel Paulus, S. 208, 209). No doubt the Tribune had taken the Apostle to be the Egyptian rebel of whom Josephus gives a somewhat similar account (B. 1. 2. 13. 5.) to what Lysias here says of him. But who is to prevent us from assuming that from the demeanour and whole bearing of St Paul the Tribune was at once convinced of his mistake, and adopted the conclusion that the whole affair, in all probability, had its source in a misconception, especially as he had not been able to learn the certainty of the matter from the multitude (see ver. 34). Moreover, the prisoner was in any case in safety, and as the whole of the Roman garrison was on the alert, Lysias could not have anticipated much danger from any further uproar on the part of the Jews. Consequently there is nothing of any weight to be advanced against the possibility of such a permission being granted as is here reported. By the very fact, however, that St Paul owed to the protection afforded him by the Romans this, the very first, opportunity he had had since his call and conversion, to bear public testimony to his faith in the presence of his own people Israel, in their very capital, that headlong fall to which the whole development was rapidly tending, is yet for a moment checked. St Paul, it is true, was wearing the Roman chains; but this emblem of captivity vanishes, and is altogether merged, in the feeling that here, from the eminence of the Roman camp, and amidst the weapons of the Roman soldiers, he has found the required security, and is able to deliver his first and his last speech to the people of Israel in Jerusalem.

END OF VOL. II.